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Language and Identification in Contemporary Kazakhstan

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Declaration

I confirm that I have composed the following dissertation and that the work is my own. I also confirm that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Abstract

In the years since the dissolution of the Soviet Union Central Asia has experienced wide-reaching and ongoing social change. The structures and values of all social strata have been questioned and re-evaluated in a continuing exploration of what it means to be part of the post-Soviet space. Within this space, identity formation and reformation has been a pre-eminent process for individuals, for groups of all kinds and for the newly emerging states and their leaders.

Through the analysis of individual interviews and selected newspaper extracts and government policy documents this study explores the ways in which ethnic and state identities are being negotiated in Kazakhstan. Using the social identity theory framework it investigates the value and content of these identities by examining the state ideologies of language and the policies which are their expression as well as the discourses of language and identity engaged in by individuals and in the media. There is an exploration of common and conflicting themes referred to as aspects of these identities, of outgroups deemed relevant for comparison and of the roles of Kazakh and Russian in particular, alongside other languages, in relation to these identities.

The study focuses on the availability to an individual of multiple possible identities of differing levels of inclusiveness. The saliency of a particular identity is demonstrated to vary according both to context and to the beliefs and goals of the individual concerned. The importance of discourse to processes of identity formation and maintenance is also described and the interaction between discourse and social context is highlighted.

The ongoing construction of a Kazakhstani identity is described and the importance of group norms of hospitality, inclusiveness and interethnic accord observed. The sense of learning from other cultures and of mutual enrichment is also demonstrated. However, these themes exist in tension with those of Kazakhstan as belonging primarily to Kazakhs and of cultural oppression and loss.

The multi-dimensional nature of ethnic identity is highlighted as is the difficulty, experienced by some, in maintaining a positive sense of ethnic group identity. Perceptions of the importance of language in the construction of ethnic and state identity are explored as are the tensions created by the ideological and instrumental values adhering to different languages in use in Kazakhstan.

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1 Introduction and Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

In the years since the dissolution of the Soviet Union Central Asia has been part of wide-reaching and ongoing social change. The structures and values of all social strata have been questioned and re-evaluated in a continuing exploration of what it means to be part of the post-Soviet space. Within this space, identity formation and reformation has been an important process for individuals, for groups of all kinds and for the newly emerging states and their leaders.

This study investigates how ethnic and state level identities are being constructed in the independent republic of Kazakhstan. It seeks to establish how valued such identities are to individuals in Kazakhstan, what aspects of group belonging they see as important and which outgroups are seen as relevant for comparison. It also investigates the roles played by the various languages in use in Kazakhstan in these identity formation processes.

Moreover, as those in positions of power are rebuilding nations and states and defining the identities they wish them to possess and project, ideologies of identity, of ethnicity, and of the role of language within these spheres are of critical importance to these dominant groups. This study therefore explores the state ideologies of language and the policies which are their expression as well as investigating discourses of language and identity within the media.

The educational sphere is one in which the linguistic ideologies and identity beliefs of government interact with those of groups and individuals in society. It is a prime site of identity formation in which language plays a socially prominent role. Pupils and students should not be viewed merely as passive recipients of the ideologies transmitted to them. The present school and university generation is one clearly aware that the values attached to the various languages in use in Kazakhstan are changing. Such values are under negotiation and education is the sphere within which students orient and position themselves in relation to other groups and members of society through the language choices they make and the values they

ascribe to individual languages. The present research is therefore focussed on the contributions of a sample of students and staff of educational establishments made in interviews carried out in Kazakhstan.

1.2 Identity and Language in the Post-Soviet Space

This study is situated within a growing field of work examining issues of identity and of language in the post-Soviet space. Smith (1999), for example, provides a helpful overview of the newly independent states in the first decade of transition following the break-up of the Soviet Union. He discusses the responses of the ethnic Russians resident in the borderland states to becoming a minority group within these new states. He compares the situation in Central Asia with that in Estonia and Latvia arguing that exit has emerged as the most prominent strategy in the former whilst in the latter a variety of responses is evident but that most Russians have stayed in the newly independent countries and are exploring the identities and ways of living available to them within that context.

Other authors in this field have also explored the challenges faced by ethnic Russians in the post-Soviet states. Fein (2005) examines identity formation amongst the Russians in Estonia as a product of boundary construction as they seek to define themselves both in relation to Estonians and to Russians in Russia. She draws on evidence based on interviews and on ethnographic observation to argue that an Estonian Russian identity is being constructed which views Russians in Russia as a negative outgroup. The emerging identity is based on the belief that Estonian Russians, whilst distinct from Estonians, have nonetheless assimilated some of the national characteristics of Estonians which positively distinguish them from their co-ethnics in Russia.

Similarly, in her study of the Russian-speaking community in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, Flynn (2007b) describes how many of her respondents clearly distinguished themselves from local Uzbeks, but also ascribed certain characteristics of this nationality, such as hospitality and politeness, to themselves, in such a way as to

positively differentiate themselves from Russians in Russia. This tendency is also observed amongst some of the Russian participants in the present study (see sections 4.2.5 and 4.3.1). In her study Flynn also observes the ways in which Tashkent's Russians are rooted in Uzbekistan and relate to it as homeland whilst simultaneously fostering a cultural and linguistic identity as Russians which links them to Russia as an "external homeland" (2007b: 283). She thus discusses the value of understanding "homeland" as a notion which is not fixed, of recognising that "multiple homelands might exist" and "that "homeland" can be understood and have significance at different levels (e.g. region, city) and might be very much a state of mind or being (e.g. where I was born, where I live, where I am happy)" (2007b: 268). Such an approach is helpful in explaining the complex nature of identity formation for Russians in the post-Soviet space.

In his study of the Korean and German minorities in Kazakhstan, Diener (2006) also stresses the strong sense of connection felt by many of Kazakhstan's minority group members to that territory, whilst recognising the identity formation challenges faced by such groups in light of social and political changes since Kazakhstan's independence. He compares and contrasts the histories of each group in terms of movement to and experience in Kazakhstan as part of his exploration of these communities' responses to the nation-building policies in the republic since the end of the Soviet Union. He finds that a greater proportion of Koreans than Germans understand Kazakhstan as "homeland" and that whilst the majority of Koreans are therefore willing to embrace an identity as a member of the Kazakhstani state, most Germans favour the option of emigration to their historical homeland of Germany.

In contrast to this study which understands ethnic and political factors as paramount in minority group members' decision to emigrate, Radnitz' (2006) study of minorities in Tashkent, Uzbekistan found economic motivations to be the most influential factor in determining whether or not individuals sought to emigrate from Uzbekistan. This is in accord with Flynn's findings in the same city (2007b: 275).

Whilst the studies discussed above draw primarily on interviews with and observations of ‘ordinary’ minority group members, in his investigation of the Russians in Kazakhstan, Peyrouse (2008) prioritises the discourses of local newspapers and of political and cultural leaders claiming to represent the Russian minority. He describes the negative view of Kazakhstan as an independent state and of the nation-building policies employed there which is prevalent in these sources. However, Peyrouse (2007) describes how Russians in Kazakhstan have become increasingly politically disengaged and feel little connection with the organisations supposed to represent them due to the negative view of the situation of Russians in the newly independent states presented and the fact that such organisations do not consider the multiple ways in which ethnic Russians are engaged in defining their identity in relation to both their state of residence and to Russia.

In his exploration of identity change in post-Soviet Latvia, Kronenfeld draws principally on demographic data. He uses this data to argue that there is a clear link between interethnic contact between groups and convergence of ethnic identity, such that “Russians who live among Latvians are more likely to identify as inhabitants of the Latvian state, to speak Latvian, and to marry Latvians” (2005: 271) than those who do not live in such close contact with Latvians.

Kronenfeld thus uses data on patterns of settlement and education for each of the ethnic groups under consideration in order to explain processes of identity formation. Other authors in the field also consider the physical environment in which people live and work and its relationship with beliefs about identity formation and maintenance. Liu (2007), for example, considers the cityscape of Osh in Kyrgyzstan and explores the different and changing identities associated with the Uzbek residential neighbourhoods in comparison with the Soviet-developed regions of the city. However, despite strong associations of the former with perceptions of traditional Central Asian and Islamic values and of the latter with modern European civilisation and orientation (and more recently with Kyrgyz-dominated rule and nationalisation), Liu also considers the “hybrid and ambiguous nature” of lived

experience and finds that “the correspondence between places and attitudes is never one-to-one” (2007: 66).

Similarly, Buchli’s (2007) examination of Kazakhstan’s new capital city, Astana, explores the relationships between the built environment and understandings of self and of ethnic and national identity. He describes how the development of a new capital is related to the development of a new national identity, a city where “people are expected to know and recognise themselves and what it means to be Kazakhstani and modern” (2007: 42). He asserts that the built forms of the new capital are constitutive of notions of social legitimacy and explores the sense of ambivalence engendered by the fact that much of the new building work is of poor quality such that “where buildings begin to crumble, façades begin to decay and the corrupt relations of society can be indexed both literally and figuratively” (2007: 47).

Whilst Buchli’s study explores the built environment, Adams (2004) examines the role of Uzbekistan’s cultural elite in promoting the image of state legitimacy and social unity rooted in an ethnic Uzbek culture which is put forward by that republic’s government as a foundation for a national identity. In Uzbekistan the government maintains control over most forms of cultural production and uses these means for the communication of its official ideology of the nation. Adams explores the often ambivalent role of culture producers in mediating state-society relations and argues that these elites both support and resist the nation-building efforts of the state. She describes how

“conflicts between state actors in Uzbekistan are not likely to be framed in ideological terms but rather as struggles over the allocation of resources and the apportioning of credit and blame. To see resistance to the state only in terms of democratic opposition or liberalism versus authoritarianism is to overlook the mundane modes of resistance *within* states such as Uzbekistan’s, which take the form of assertions of personal or organizational autonomy” (2004: 115).

In his account of the development of national identity in Uzbekistan, Everett-Heath (2003) argues that it is the role of Islam in the state that constitutes the biggest challenge to the production of a unified identity. He describes how President

Karimov has simultaneously “sought to gain credibility by appealing to Islamic sentiment while attempting to build a secular state” and may in the process be creating a political Islam where no such threat to his authority existed before. As well as highlighting religion as a source of division in the country Everett-Heath also cites multi-ethnicity and the forces of regionalism and tribalism as possible threats to state cohesion and stability – factors he also cites as of significance in neighbouring Kazakhstan.

These factors are also cited as relevant to the nation-building project in Kyrgyzstan (Lowe 2003). Lowe describes how Kyrgyzstan has engaged in a process, similar to that of the other post-Soviet states, of developing the symbols of a new national identity and of removing Soviet terms and place names, replacing them with more indigenous and nationally oriented alternatives, but argues that such changes “have been implemented less zealously than in other former Soviet republics, reflecting Kyrgyz ambivalence about the Soviet legacy and realistic acceptance that its influence remains strong” (2003: 115).

A comprehensive and helpful overview of linguistic changes such as these is provided in Landau and Kellner-Heinkele’s (2001) study of language policies in the six Muslim former soviet states. These authors highlight de-Russification and, more widely, de-Sovietization as central to language policy and national identity formation in all six states (2001: 65). It is argued that since the widespread acquisition of Russian by other ethnic groups in the Soviet republics was primarily instrumentally motivated, the new elites in these states are attempting to reverse the situation by raising the status and use of the titular language in such influential spheres as business, education and administration, thereby increasing the instrumental motivation for citizens to learn that language. It is also argued that by vigorously promoting the titular language, the elites of all six states

“while claiming to profess a real interest in all languages employed within its borders, have been perpetuating to a great extent one aspect at least of Soviet linguistic policies, viz., the promotion of a policy aimed at the eventual overall integration of the minorities into the culture and language of the dominant *ethnie*” (2001: 207).

Fierman (2009) also provides a comparison of language policies in post-Soviet states, examining the status of Russian and of the titular language in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan prior to and following independence. He argues that, although both Azerbaijani and Kazakh declined in use and status in relation to Russian during the Soviet era, this process had less impact in Azerbaijan than in Kazakhstan and that Azerbaijanis generally had a more positive attitude towards their ethnic language than did Kazakhs (2009: 87). He goes on to describe how the relative status of the titular languages in each republic was reflected in the language of education with a much higher proportion of ethnic Kazakhs than Azerbaijanis studying in Russian medium establishments. He goes shows that the proportion of pupils studying in Kazakh language education has risen since independence although it still does not mach that of Azerbaijan and that a similar picture prevails for titular language use in the workplace. Fierman attributes the marked differences in titular language status between the two countries to the “inertia” of geographic, historical, political and demographic factors present during the Soviet era (2009: 98), and to subsequent language policies pursued by the two republics’ governments since independence, with the leaders of multi-ethnic Kazakhstan continuing to allow Russian a relatively prominent place within the republic in comparison with that allowed to Russian in independent Azerbaijan.

The continued prevalence of Russian in Kazakhstan is also highlighted by Smagulova (2008). She describes the results of a large-scale self-report survey carried out there into language attitudes and use. The survey results reveal that knowledge of Russian remains widespread and that Russian “is a dominant language of communication across all domains” (2008: 192), although, amongst the younger respondents, there is a greater self-reported knowledge and use of Kazakh and less of Russian than amongst older participants. It is also argued from the survey data that ethnic Kazakhs are actively trying to reverse the language shift which occurred during the Soviet era by increasingly choosing Kazakh medium education for their children. However, respondents are also shown to be unwilling to entirely replace

Russian with Kazakh and it is argued that multilingualism is emerging as the dominant ideology in the republic.

It is therefore clear that there is a rich and growing field of study examining issues of national identity and of language in the post-Soviet space. The works described above are all valuable contributions upon which the present study is able to build. It is noticeable, however, that the majority of studies described focus on an exclusive comparison between titular groups and ethnic Russians in the post-Soviet states, assuming and privileging the dichotomy between the two groups and their languages. These studies thus lack an open-minded exploration of whether in fact other groups are viewed as relevant for comparison or whether other aspects of identity are similarly valued by citizens of the newly independent states. The present study thus aims to fill this lacuna by investigating which aspects of ethnic and state level belonging are valued and seen as determinative of such identities as well as exploring which outgroups are most commonly selected for comparison by group members and which dimensions of comparison are seen to be relevant to the individuals concerned.

Similarly, the studies outlined above tend to assume that ethnic identity is highly relevant to individuals in all circumstances, whereas the present work does not make this assumption, but instead seeks to establish which identities are invoked as relevant by the study's participants under particular circumstances.

A further way in which this research is able build on the existing work described above is in its breadth of investigation in studying the discourses of individuals, of the state and its representatives and of the media as they relate to ethnic and national identity construction and in exploring relationships, links and contrasts between the themes of discourse in each of these spheres.

1.3 Ethnic Identity

The meaning and nature of ethnic identity is often contested. In literature on this topic several different approaches are adopted in understanding the nature and importance of ethnic identity. One of the most prominent older approaches is that of

primordialism; a view which stresses the biological nature of ethnicity. According to this approach ethnicity is natural and inescapable, it is a “prior, given and powerful...social bond” (Smith 1995: 32). Typically, however, ethnic identity is acknowledged to be more than simply genetic information and although descent-based, is multidimensional and involves both biological and social and cultural heritage (Padilla 1999: 115, Edwards 1985: 8).

In contrast to the emphasis placed by primordialists on the entrenched and pre-determined nature of ethnicity, the instrumentalist approach focuses on ethnic identity as one which is situationally determined and transformable at need. It is one resource among many upon which an individual may draw according to changing circumstances. According to this view the “cultural contents and meanings of ethnic identities tend to change with cultures, periods, economic and political circumstances, according to the perceptions and attitudes of each member” (Smith 1995: 31). Ethnicity may vary in saliency for an individual and can exist unnoticed alongside other identities (Fishman 1977: 33).

In his important works on the subject, which have influenced the approach taken to ethnic identity in the present research, Smith (1991,1995) argues against both of these extremes yet draws on elements of both in describing his own historical symbolic-cultural approach (1991: 20). He rejects the primacy which primordialism accords to ethnic identity and stresses that group identities of many kinds are important to individuals, arguing that “ethnic ties like other social bonds are subject to economic, social and political forces, and therefore fluctuate and change according to circumstances” (1995: 33). However, he also rejects the instrumentalist view’s focus on the manipulation of ethnicity and its vision of continuous cultural change (1991: 25). Smith stresses the historical rootedness of ethnicity and the importance of myths of descent, symbols, historical memories and collective values for an individual’s understanding of ethnic group membership (1991: 20, 25). He states the need to

“reconstitute the notion of collective cultural identity itself in historical, subjective and symbolic terms. Collective cultural identity refers not to a uniformity of elements

over generations but to a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to shared memories of earlier events and periods in the history of that unit and to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture” (1991: 25).

Smith further argues that the actual stability or objective existence of cultural attributes which differentiate one population from another is unimportant, because once an ethnic group perceives such attributes as significant elements of the group identity then they are viewed as objective and become important as ethnic boundary markers (1991: 23). This approach to the identity of ethnic groups is revealed to be relevant in the discourses relating to it discussed in chapters 5 and 7 of the present study.

The contrastive nature of ethnic identity, whereby myths, symbols, memories, customs, physical attributes, languages, institutions and religions are significant, in so far as they are seen to distinguish one group from another, is important for understanding the variability in salience which any one of these markers has for a particular ethnic group and the use of such attributes in processes of individual and national inclusion and exclusion (Smith 1991: 143, see also for example, Dobson 2001 for an informative discussion of the situation in Latvia and Triandafyllidou 1998 for an exploration of the ‘other’ in the context of Greek nationalism).

Although it recognises ethnicity as an important group identity, the present study does not assume that ethnic group membership is salient and relevant to individuals in all situations. In their study of ethnic and national identity in a Transylvanian setting, Brubaker and his colleagues (2006) examine the processes by which ethnic group identity is made more or less salient or invisible to individuals and the ways in which such identities are lived out within that particular context.

“We do not *assume* the salience or significance of ethnicity and nationhood; we seek rather to *discover* and *specify* when, where, and how they become salient or significant. Ethnicity is not a thing, not a substance; it is an interpretive prism, a way of making sense of the social world. And it is always only one among many such interpretive frames. Everyday ethnicity cannot therefore be studied as a self-subsistent domain. Ethnicized ways of experiencing and interpreting the social world

can only be studied alongside a range of alternative, non-ethnicized ways of seeing and being” (2006: 15).

Similarly, the present study seeks to discover whether ethnic group identities are in fact salient and valued by individuals in the research setting and if so, how they are defined and experienced by those individuals. In prioritising the discourse of ordinary people in this way the present study can again be compared to that of Brubaker and his colleagues. They state that

“Our data—generated by the addressees, not the authors of nationalist politics—were drawn from people who ordinarily leave no traces in the public record: they make no speeches, issue no statements, write no articles... we sought to grasp ethnicity in practice, as it is embodied, enacted and experienced by ordinary Clujeni [residents of Cluj, the research setting]” (2006: 360).

1.4 National Identity

Understandings of ethnicity are closely linked to those of the development of national identity and nationalism, which are also seen as being inherently multidimensional concepts (Smith 1991: 14, Dawisha and Parrot 1994: 58). For Smith national identity is firmly rooted in “pre-modern ethnic symbolism and modes of organization” (1995: 7). He asserts that pre-modern ethnic group identities form the foundation for modern nations. Nationalist movements draw on elements of the historical culture-community (1995: 59) and, asserting the authenticity and purity of the group, assign political and territorial significance to the group boundaries.

This symbolic-historic approach can be contrasted with the modernist approach to nations and nationalism. The modernist perspective views nations as a product of the processes of capitalism, mass communication and bureaucracy which emerged in the modern era (Anderson 1991). Modernists place less emphasis on the role of ethnic communities in defining the character of modern nations and more emphasis on the role of economics and the development of print technology in forming inherently limited, sovereign communities, and on the role of political and cultural elites in defining those communities. Sarsembayev (1999) provides an account of the development of Kazakh nationalism using this framework as expounded by Anderson, although Dave (2007b) argues convincingly that the role of the printed

word in Kazakhstan was limited due to the relatively small literate elite and low levels of literacy amongst the population, which adhered to a culture with strong oral traditions.

Moreover, although the importance of economic factors and of developing bureaucracies is not denied, Smith in particular (1991, 1995) argues that underlying pre-modern, ethnically-based identities continue to exert a strong influence on modern nations and on national identity formation.

The present research examines the ways in which a national identity is being constructed and presented by the government of Kazakhstan and by selected online newspapers. It thus seeks to identify the symbols and identity markers selected and reified as defining aspects of a Kazakhstani identity. Importantly, however, the present study does not view the discourses of the political elite or of the media in isolation but examines continuities and differences between them. It also gives considerable attention to the ways in which ordinary individuals understand a Kazakhstani national identity, whether such understandings reflect, reinterpret or reject the discourses of government and the media and to whether and when such an identity is in fact salient for the individuals concerned.

1.5 Language

A multidimensional view of ethnic and national identities also provides a cogent explanation for the variable saliency of language as an identity marker. Language is frequently viewed as one of the primary features of a group's identity. Often it clearly demarcates the ingroup from the outgroup and provides a tangible link with the group's past. It may also be perceived as an expression of the group's unique essence (Smith, G. et. al. 1998: 65) and is the primary medium of socialisation of individuals within the group. Fishman describes the value placed on language due to its role as an expression of group identity as "sanctity by association" (Fishman 1977: 25). For all these reasons language may become a highly salient and valued aspect of identity and yet it exists alongside other strands of identity and as with other identity markers its significance may alter in response to changing group needs

and circumstances (Safran 1999: 80, and see Chapman, Smith and Foot for a discussion of changing attitudes to language and ethnic group membership amongst Albanian-Greeks as an example of this). Attitudes concerning language as a necessary marker of group belonging are seen to vary both within and between ethnic groups in the present study (see chapter 4).

The saliency of language within nationalist movements also varies. A distinction is often drawn between civic and ethnic nationalism. Civic nationalism is concerned with a “historic territory, legal-political community, legal-political equality of members, and common civic culture and ideology”, whilst ethnic nationalism focuses on “genealogy and presumed descent ties, popular mobilization, vernacular languages, customs and traditions” (Smith 1991: 11-12). However, neither of these two strands of nationalism exists in pure or isolated form; any particular instance of nationalism will contain elements of each to a greater or lesser extent and the degree to which one or another predominates will determine the character of the nation-building process (Smith 1991: 13, Dawisha and Parrot 1994: 59 and see Juska 1999 for a comparison of approaches in fourteen of the Soviet successor states).

The present study contributes to an understanding of the role of language in ethnic and national identity formation in Kazakhstan by exploring in detail the attitudes and beliefs of individuals concerning the Kazakh, Russian, and English languages in particular and the importance of each of these languages to group membership.

1.5.1 Language Planning

Nation-building processes necessarily involve language planning and the formation of language in education policies. Investigations into and descriptions of language planning generally acknowledge the work of Einar Haugen as their starting point. Haugen established a typology based upon a differentiation between problems of *form* and those of *function* and processes of *initiation* and *implementation*. Form is used to describe “linguistic structure in all its ramifications” and function “the variety of uses to which that structure is put”. Initiation processes of form involve “selection of a norm”, whilst the corresponding implementation processes require

“codification of form”. For linguistic function initiation is described as “elaboration of function” and its implementation as “acceptance by the community” (Haugen 1966: 17-18). Later typologies continue to draw similar distinctions between planning that relates to language structure and that which relates to context, generally referred to as *corpus* and *status planning* respectively (Cooper 1989). Rubin and Fishman stressed the cyclic nature of language planning processes and added *evaluation* to Haugen’s norm selection, codification, implementation and elaboration (Rubin 1971, Fishman 1979, in Dogancay-Aktuna 1997: 15).

In his influential work on the subject Cooper (1989) defined language planning as “deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language code” (1989: 45). Thus Cooper added *acquisition planning*, referring to activities relating to the teaching and learning of language, to the existing typology and, in not restricting his definition of language planning to the activities of authorised institutions, widened the scope of what was considered to be language planning.

Spolsky (2003, 2004) also utilises a broad and inclusive understanding of language planning. He outlines three interrelated components: language practice, language ideology, and language management. Language practice “comprises all the consensual choices of languages or language forms” whilst language ideology includes “the beliefs of the members of the various social groups about language and language use... including attitudes to the languages and the items that identify the languages and varieties used in the community” and language management is defined as “any effort by any individual or institution that holds or claims authority to modify the language practice or language ideology of other people” (2003: 554). The benefit of an approach such as this, particularly in the context of the present study, is that it recognises the importance of the attitudes and language choices of individuals and social groups which may or may not be in concordance with those of authoritative institutions.

The importance of understanding and influencing language attitudes in order to effectively evaluate or implement language policies is widely recognised and it is also acknowledged that, in order for language policies to be successful, careful attention must be paid to implementation and evaluation processes (Christ 1997: 1, Mac Donnacha 2000). In addition, it is important to recognise the importance of the specific societal context in which language policies are to be enacted in determining the success or otherwise of those policies (Edwards 1994: 174, Schiffman 1996: 5).

A wide range of factors may influence institutional decisions regarding language policy. Socio-demographic factors such as the degree of urbanisation and modernisation, and relative population balance and distribution of different ethnic groups, economic factors including the cost of policy implementation, the status accorded to language(s) of wider communication and considerations of economic globalisation, political factors such as international relations, relations with former colonial powers and the status of minority groups within the society, religious factors such as the religious associations of particular languages, and linguistic factors such as the degree and spread of bi- or multilingualism and levels of language standardisation and modernisation may all affect language policy formation (Kirkwood 1989: 5-10).

The educational sphere is of particular importance in language planning. It is a prime site for implementation and represents the interface between macro-level policies and micro-level behaviour and responses. One of the most critical decisions pertaining to language planning in education is that of medium of instruction. The choice of which language is to be used in schools may be influenced by historical, cultural, political and economic factors and, in turn, has extensive consequences for patterns of language use and language structure within the community (see Morrison and Lui, 2000 for a discussion of the question of medium of instruction in the context of Hong Kong). The present study explores beliefs about the importance of language of instruction in relation to ethnic group membership (see chapter 6).

Other important aspects of language in education planning include decisions pertaining to personnel recruitment and their initial and ongoing training, production and distribution of educational materials including processes of translation and language modernisation, standardisation and authorisation, choices of and curriculum weighting given to foreign language instruction, the relationship between languages in multilingual settings, possible levels and types of bilingual education and teaching about language, including evaluations and comparisons of languages (Christ 1997: 1). As is made clear in subsequent chapters, many of these areas emerge as being of concern in the context of education in Kazakhstan.

The present research is of value in furthering understanding of language planning and language in education policy in Kazakhstan. It examines the approach taken to language in the nation-building processes underway in the republic. Government legislation relating to language is described and the identity-forming aspects of such measures explored. Importantly though, as well as describing government policy concerning language policy, the present study also explores the attitudes of individuals in the research site to official language policy, to the use of individual languages in various spheres and to the role of language in education.

1.5.2 Language Maintenance and Shift

Another issue of concern in the Soviet and post-Soviet context is that of language maintenance or shift. Factors which influence levels of language maintenance in a community include the relative size and geographic location and distribution of language-communities, relative levels of fertility and mortality for each group, levels of in-migration and out-migration, the percentage of mixed marriages, the duration and origin of the contact situation, degree and frequency of contact with speakers of the language in other states, degree of cultural difference between language-groups, degree of identification and values associated with mother tongue usage, availability of education in the group language, and use of language by religious or community institutions (Romanov 2000: 65-8, Lewis 1972: 139-40). Economic factors are also of great significance as a particular language may be associated with socio-economic mobility and it is sometimes argued that economic factors are primary in determining

language outcomes as individuals will be willing to alter their patterns of language use in order to maximise material gain. Thus, languages associated with technological advancement and modernisation may come to be favoured over languages associated with ingroup culture and tradition. Political factors and political relations between minority and majority groups are also important (Edwards 1985: 85, 92).

That language shift is of concern to both elites and to individual group members is evident in the present study. The widespread shift to Russian and subsequent loss of fluency in Kazakh by the Kazakh population during the Soviet era is often described in negative terms (see, for example, quotes 5:53, 5:54, 5:55, 7:20 and 7:21).

In related work, Giles and colleagues investigated language maintenance and shift by focusing on levels of ethnolinguistic vitality. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 308). Group vitality is itself influenced by *status factors*, including economic, social, sociohistorical and language status, *demographic factors*, including factors of group distribution and group numbers, and *institutional support*, both formally and informally through use of the group language in various spheres of society. However, objective measures of vitality may not be the most important factor and a group’s own subjective perceptions of status and vitality may have greater influence over levels of language maintenance or shift (1977: 309-18).

1.5.3 Language Ideologies

Much work on language and ideology also deals with intergroup relations and the interactions between majority and minority interests. Ideology links social values to language (Dijk 1997: 7). Ideologies of language “are not about language alone. Rather, they envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality and to epistemology” (Woolard 1998: 3). Ideologies define the place and value of specific languages within society. A useful typology is that formulated by Ruiz, who describes how language may be approached as a *problem*, a *right*, or a *resource*

(Ruiz 1984 in Taylor 2002: 315). Moreover, different ideologies may exist in tension and competition with one another within a society (Woolard 1998: 21, Gal 1998: 319-20). Shared ideologies mean that group members will generally act alike in similar situations and contribute to successful group cohesion and reproduction (Dijk 1997: 26). An ideology often prevalent during times of nation-building or language cultivation is that of linguistic purity. Individual and group discourse may value linguistic purity and perceived impurity is described as being a threat to the status and well-being of the group. This is evident in the present study (see section 6.4.2). The fact that appeals for the well-being of language may serve to obfuscate the real issue of group interests is highlighted in Cameron's work on ideologies of language purity (Cameron 1995: 227) and its role in nation-building is discussed by Spolsky (2004: 24), whilst Ferguson (2006: 31) and Schiffman (1996: 61-2) provide helpful summaries of its relation to language planning processes.

Discussions of ideology often focus on links between ideology and power relations. By favouring the use of certain languages over others in institutional and educational settings those in authority can control access to resources and reproduce existing power relations such that a particular language policy "publicizes, legitimizes, and empowers certain groups at the expense of others" (Spitulnik 1998: 166).

Phillipson's term *linguistic imperialism* describes the use of language to achieve and maintain political and economic domination and, in particular, the role that English plays in maintaining such domination by the West (Phillipson 1997: 205). The socio-economic value of English plays an important role in the language choices of both individuals and institutions. English is often favoured as a medium of instruction, as a second language or language of wider communication, on the basis of the economic advantages concomitant with fluency in it (see Morrison and Lui 2000: 475, Cisel, Hallett and Green 2000: 60, Spitulnik 1998: 175 for examinations of this in the contexts of Hong Kong, the former Soviet Union and Zambia respectively).

Bourdieu's notions of *economic, symbolic, social and cultural capital* are useful in looking at language and power relations. Bourdieu focuses on the symbolic use of power and describes how individuals are positioned in the social field according to

the amount and type of *capital* they possess. *Economic* capital refers to material wealth, *symbolic* capital involves social concepts such as prestige and honour, and *social* capital is constituted through relationships within society, whilst *cultural* capital refers to socially valued types of knowledge usually acquired through education and is thus related to *linguistic* capital, which is achieved through facility in the authorised and dominant language. Particular languages or dialects have differing values in the linguistic market and the education system reproduces and legitimises existing inequalities in linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991: 62, 230). However, institutions and individuals can also act to challenge existing power relations. People and groups have agency and may contest the position assigned to them by dominant groups by constituting and expressing alternative definitions of social values and identities (Chick 2002: 465).

1.5.4 Language and Identity

Individuals are not tied to a single identity but have many potential identities which may be expressed in different contexts (Sebba and Wootton 1998: 277, Grant 1997: 20, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 14). Bi- or multilinguals in particular have access to multiple identities through participation in more than one speech community. Such individuals may signal which identity is being invoked in a particular situation through their choice of language or by code-switching between languages. Code-switching may also be employed as a strategy to negotiate identity, or in order to maintain neutrality in socially ambiguous situations or between what may be considered to be conflicting identities (Romaine 1995: 301, Heller 1988: 92). Language use is frequently an important marker of group identity. For groups at all levels of society aspects of language use are significant means of establishing and consolidating group identity and individuals therefore use language to signal their degree of identification with particular groups. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller perceive differences in language use between groups as being the “linguistic symptoms” of identities (1985: 75). For these authors linguistic behaviour is a “series of acts of identity” (1985: 14) and they argue that “it is the relationships between people, as symbolised by and inherent in the linguistic systems of each individual, which are the key to personal and social identity” (1985: 205).

Thus individuals negotiate and express their personal and group identities through the language choices they make, and groups in interaction contest and define these identities and the relative values of the language varieties associated with them.

These processes are apparent in contemporary Kazakhstan, where the relative values of Kazakh, Russian and English in particular are being negotiated and redefined. The outcome of these ongoing processes of ‘refocusing’ of language values (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 115) is as yet unclear, but will have significant repercussions for intergroup relations as well as for individual members of Kazakhstani society.

1.6 The Social Identity Framework

1.6.1 Social Identity Theory

The approach to group formation and intergroup relations known as social identity theory emerged from investigations into intergroup discrimination. Tajfel and his colleagues showed that, under certain conditions, just the perception of being in one group as opposed to another was sufficient to cause group behaviour such as intergroup competition and discrimination. Moreover, experiments showed that, contrary to previous theories, interpersonal similarity or liking is not necessarily a sufficient condition for group formation (Turner 1982: 16, 23). Consequently, the social group was defined by Tajfel and Turner in cognitive terms as “two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category” (Turner 1999: 15). Elsewhere Tajfel gives a broader definition of what constitutes a group, stating that in addition to the cognitive component there may be an evaluative component due to the fact that an individual’s perception of his or her membership of a group may carry positive or negative value connotations, and also an emotional component, in that individuals may experience and express emotions towards the group and towards others as a consequence of their relationship with the group (1981: 229).

A continuum of identity-perception from the interpersonal to the intergroup extreme was posited. It was argued that at the interpersonal end of the scale interactions occur in relation to the individual characteristics and personal relationships pertaining between those involved, whereas at the intergroup extreme the nature of the interaction is entirely determined by their group memberships. As a consequence of this it is argued that the nearer a social situation is perceived to be to the interpersonal extreme, the more behaviour towards outgroup members will tend to be diversified, whereas, the nearer a situation is to the intergroup end of the continuum, the more behaviour towards outgroup members will be unified, as they are perceived as “homogeneous and undifferentiated members of their social category” (Turner 1999: 10).

Turner and Tajfel argued that group membership provides individuals with a social identity and that, since people were shown to readily identify and define themselves in terms of their group membership, the need for positive self-esteem would lead to

“a psychological requirement inherent in social identification that relevant ingroups compare favourably with relevant outgroups...a need for positive social identity, expressed through a desire to create, maintain or enhance the positively valued distinctiveness of ingroups compared to outgroups on relevant dimensions, and aroused under conditions when people defined and evaluated themselves in terms of their group memberships” (Turner 1999: 8).

The desire for positive distinctiveness may lead to attitudes and behaviour which show ingroup bias and discrimination against outgroups even in the absence of any objective conflict of interest between groups although other response strategies are also available and may be employed alongside or instead of strategies of discrimination. Further, it is stressed that the need for positive self-evaluation must be considered in the context of a social identity, and not at the level of *individual* self-esteem.

The positive distinctiveness principle also has a bearing on intragroup behaviour since it motivates group members to evaluate distinguishing group characteristics positively and thus, such characteristics become desirable attributes which are social

norms for the group and which group members try to possess and portray. In this way social category membership affects attitudes and behaviour in interactions with both in- and outgroup representatives (Turner 1982: 35).

The fact that ingroup members compete to enact group norms and so portray themselves as more prototypical ingroup members than others has been used to explain group polarization effects. Group polarization describes the process whereby

“uniformities in intragroup behaviour result from the members’ opinions becoming more extreme in the socially favoured direction rather than from convergence on the average of their initial positions... individuals tend to assign the positive aspects of the ingroup stereotype to themselves to a greater degree than they assign them to fellow ingroup members and also strive to enact them to a greater degree than others... individuals compete to enact the same criterial attributes, ...they compete to be the first amongst equals on those dimensions which describe what they have in common as group members” (Turner 1982: 35).

Relatedly, exactly who is included within the definition of the ingroup varies according to the specific social context of comparison. It is suggested that minorities which form radical or extreme subgroups of the ingroup will tend to be excluded from the ingroup in intragroup contexts of comparison but, conversely, will be included in situations of comparison with an even more different outgroup. This variation in categorization determines the contexts in which minorities may influence intra- and intergroup behaviour (Turner 1999: 18).

It is also the case that group members may experience social identity threats. Branscombe et al. describe four types of identity threat.

“1 ‘Categorization threat’ (being categorized against one’s will)
2 ‘Distinctiveness threat’ (group distinctiveness is prevented or undermined)
3 ‘Threats to the value of social identity’ (the group’s value is undermined)
4 ‘Acceptance threat’ (one’s position within the group is undermined)”
(1999: 36).

The authors go on to assert that the nature of a group member’s response to a threat will vary according both to the type of threat and the degree of their identification with the group.

The need for positive social identity interacts with group members' perceptions of the nature and structure of intergroup relations in determining the nature of intergroup attitudes and behaviour. Tajfel draws a distinction between strategies of *social change*, and of *social mobility*. These behavioural strategies are conceptualised as lying at each end of a continuum and are determined by structures of belief concerning the nature of group boundaries and status. Social change is described as "a change in the nature of the relations between large-scale social groups" and is associated with the belief that social group boundaries are clearly defined and impermeable, that is, the individual cannot leave his current group/s to join others. The definition of social mobility is restricted to individual social mobility, "the movement of individuals and families...from one social position to another... from one social group to another" (Tajfel 1981: 244). This approach is associated with the belief that group boundaries are flexible and permeable and that a change in group affiliation is possible. Further, it is argued that the basis for group stratification may be perceived to be: legitimate and stable, illegitimate and unstable, illegitimate but stable, or legitimate but unstable. The third and fourth of these situations may often interact, in that a perception of illegitimacy is likely to motivate attempts for change and, in time, perceived instability is likely to lead to a decrease in the perceived legitimacy of the situation. Thus, beliefs concerning the relative permeability of group boundaries and the legitimacy and stability of group status will interact to determine whether a strategy of individual social mobility or of collective social change will be pursued. Also relevant in this context is the extent to which an individual identifies him- or herself with the ingroup. High identifiers are more likely to pursue strategies of social change whereas a low identifier may well opt to try and leave a group if that group's status is low or comes to be negatively evaluated.

1.6.2 Self-Categorization Theory

The degree to which an individual adopts an ideology of social change or social mobility is reflected in that individual's self-conception and behaviour on the interpersonal-intergroup continuum. The concomitant distinction between personal and social identity which is foundational to social identity theory was also the

starting point for the development of the related understanding of group relations known as self-categorization theory. This approach focuses on the process whereby self-categorization in terms of a social identity leads to an accentuation of perceived similarities with ingroup members and differences with outgroup members as a result of self-stereotyping and relative depersonalization. Turner argues that

“where social identity becomes relatively more salient than personal identity, people see themselves less as differing individual persons and more as the similar, prototypical representatives of their ingroup category. There is a depersonalization of the self...and it is this process that transforms individual into collective behaviour as people perceive and act in terms of a shared, collective conception of self” (Turner 1999: 11).

As in social identity theory, the self-categorization approach draws on the relative salience of personal or social identities in determining levels of personalization or depersonalization. However, in the self-categorization framework, personal and social identity are conceptualised as being self-concepts at differing levels of inclusiveness rather than as points on a continuum. The relative salience of a particular level of inclusiveness of self-categorization will determine the degree to which behaviour expresses individual or collective motivations.

The relative salience of such a specific level of self-categorization is itself determined by an interaction between the *accessibility* of the self-category according to the individual's willingness to use that particular categorization, and the degree of *fit* between that category and the reality presented. The accessibility of a category is influenced by an individual's past experience and present needs and goals as well as by the degree and intensity of identification with the group in question. Furthermore, a distinction is made between *normative fit*, which refers to the fit of the content of a category with reality, and *comparative fit*, which refers to the fact that group members must be perceived to differ more from outgroup members than they do from each other (Turner 1999: 12-13).

Categorization is highly context-dependent. People perceived as similar in one context (e.g. 'medical personnel') may be reconceptualised as different in another (e.g. 'doctors' rather than 'nurses').

Self-categorization theory also argues for a contextual, dynamic understanding of stereotypes, which vary in nature, meaning and categorical level according to the knowledge, experience, aims and values of the perceiver as well as according to the particular context and dimensions of comparison in view. It is argued that stereotyping is not the result of limited information-processing capabilities but reflects the inherently collective, group-defined nature of much of human interaction. Turner argues that

“Social categorizations become salient to fit group realities and provide veridical contextual representations of people’s group relationships. Stereotypic accentuation reflects the rational selectivity of perception in which it is more appropriate to see people in some contexts at the level of social category identity than at the level of personal identity. It is no more a distortion to see people in terms of their social identity than in terms of their personal identity. Both are products of the same categorization processes” (Turner 1999: 26).

Moreover, stereotyping is conceptualised as being applied to the self and other ingroup members as well as to outgroup members and therefore affects behaviour in both intra- and intergroup contexts.

Turner summarises the key concepts of the self-categorization approach as follows.

“first, the level and kind of identity used to represent self and others vary with one’s motives, values and expectations, one’s background knowledge and theories, and the social context within which comparison takes place; second, the salience of shared social identity leads to the depersonalization of self-perception; and third, depersonalization produces group behaviour (i.e., collective action and, processes regulated by a shared social categorical self)” (Turner 1999: 14).

The social identity and self-categorization approaches’ focus on the importance of positively distinct social identities and on the way in which group belonging influences behaviour means that they provide a useful framework for the

investigation of identity formation and intergroup relations in the context of Kazakhstan.

1.7 Discourse

In discussions of ideology and identity reference is frequently made to the concept of discourse. In the context of this research discourse is taken to mean the use of language as text or talk in communicative acts. Such communicative acts themselves are understood to involve actors such as speaker and hearer or writer and reader and as taking place in a specific (spatial, temporal and social) setting. These communicative acts are influenced and informed by the social setting in which they take place and in turn themselves affect those same settings and structures.

This study thus follows Dijk's definition of discourse as being

“the accomplished or ongoing ‘product’ of the communicative act, namely, its written or auditory result as it is made socially available for recipients to interpret. ‘Discourse’ in that case is the general term that refers to a spoken or a written *verbal product* of a communicative act.” (1998: 194).

It also follows his views expressed elsewhere when he states that

“Language users actively engage in text and talk not only as speakers, writers, listeners or readers, but also as *members* of social categories, groups, professions, organizations, communities, societies or cultures... they interact as women and men, blacks and whites, old and young, poor and rich, doctors and patients, teachers and students, friends and enemies, Chinese and Nigerians, and so on, and mostly in complex combinations of these social and cultural *roles* and *identities*. And conversely, by accomplishing discourse in social situations, language users at the same time actively *construct* and *display* such roles and identities” (1997: 3).

1.7.1 The Discursive Construction of National Identity

In its investigation of the development of a Kazakhstani identity in particular, this study draws on elements of the work of Wodak et al. (1999).

Wodak and her colleagues carried out research into Austrian identity from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. The authors themselves point out that work associated with the Critical Discourse Analysis approach is far from homogeneous and so give a clear outline of the approach and of their own position within the field. They state that Critical Discourse Analysis is focussed on the study of actual communicative texts as they are authentically produced rather than on example texts produced by the linguist for examination. Critical Discourse Analysis further understands all such texts whether written or spoken as a form of social practice.

“It assumes a dialectal relationship between particular discursive acts and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded: the situational, institutional and social contexts shape and affect discourse, and, in turn, discourses influence social and political reality. In other words, discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it” (1999: 8).

Critical Discourse Analysis is attuned to the way in which discursive practices can be used to create, perpetuate and obfuscate relations of unequal power or of domination between social actors or groups of such. Rather than attempting to maintain an objective stance in its analysis of situations, Critical Discourse Analysis is intended to reveal situations of social and political injustice and is “committed to an emancipatory, socially critical approach” which aims to “intervene discursively” (Wodak et al 1999: 8) in such environments.

Although the present study is not in conscious alignment with these aims of the Critical Discourse Analysis paradigm neither is it at all opposed or in contradiction to such an approach. Further, the way in which practitioners of this approach analyse discourse in terms of its being situated within and contributing to a social and political culture is helpful in the analysis of the present study’s participants’ understanding of a Kazakhstani identity within present-day Kazakhstan and in treating these views as part of the broader social, cultural and political context.

By using certain elements of Wodak and her colleagues’ framework it is possible to investigate the thematic contents of a Kazakhstani identity as it is constructed discursively by the participants and to compare this with the contents of the Austrian

identity revealed through Wodak's analysis of small group discussions and individual interviews.

Many aspects of Wodak's approach to the concept of identity are similar in outline to those of the social identity and self-categorisation theories already described. Identity is seen as something which is not static but which can change through time.

Moreover, an individual who is a member of diverse social groups has multiple possible identities on which to draw and each of these possible identities is made more or less salient according to the particular context.

Wodak and her colleagues discuss the nature of national identity in particular, drawing on many sources from academic literature on the subject. Amongst other authors they integrate Bourdieu's concept of habitus (see Bourdieu: 1997: 85-7) and describe national identity as being "a complex of common or similar *beliefs or opinions* internalised in the course of socialisation...and of common or similar *emotional attitudes*...as well as common or similar *behavioural dispositions*, including inclusive, solidarity-oriented and exclusive, distinguishing dispositions and also in many cases linguistic dispositions" (1999: 28). It is thus clear that such a definition combining both cognitive and emotional elements and involving self-distancing from relevant outgroups is in alignment with the social identity approach described above and used as a framework for the fieldwork conducted for the present study.

Moreover, Wodak writes of her team's assumption that discursively constructed national identities will tend to "emphasise national uniqueness and intra-national uniformity but largely ignore intra-national differences" and that in "imagining national singularity and homogeneity, members of a national community simultaneously construct the distinctions between themselves and other nations, most notably when the other nationality is believed to exhibit traits similar to those of one's own national community" (1999: 4). This is clearly an expression of principles also articulated in the social identity framework described above relating to the desire to maintain positive social identities distinct from relevant outgroups.

It is also made clear that the national identities constructed discursively by members of a state will tend to draw on both cultural and political dimensions and that a strictly maintained dichotomy between civic and ethnic nationalism (*Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation* are the terms employed by Wodak) does not accurately reflect the processes of identification of group members in any given state. This too is in accordance with literature reviewed earlier.

These similarities between the approach employed by Wodak and that of advocates of social identity theory facilitate their integration in this study. Whilst the whole of the research is conducted within the social identity framework the analysis is deepened by drawing also on certain aspects of Wodak's approach. Thus, although many aspects of Wodak's work remain outwith the scope of this study the understanding of discourse which lies behind her study as explained above and the analysis of key themes relating to national identity have both been utilised in this work.

1.8 Research Framework and Questions

Informed by the understanding of social identity outlined above, the present research follows the Self-Categorization perspective in understanding perceptions and expressions of identity as being context-dependent. An individual has multiple possible identities of varying levels of inclusiveness on which to draw and the particular identity made salient will vary according to both background experiences and knowledge and to the context in which an interaction takes place. In situations in which a group level identity is made salient the individual in question will respond behaviourally to the situation in terms of that identity. The desire for positive self-esteem at the group level will result in individuals seeking to create or maintain a sense of positive distinctiveness from outgroups. In intergroup situations group members seek to enact and defend the norms and values associated with a valued ingroup. This study seeks to investigate the way in which these processes are outworked in terms of personal, ethnic and state level identities in Kazakhstan.

In the exploration of group belonging the study also draws on the work of Wodak outlined above in understanding that themes and ideologies expressed linguistically both affect and are affected by the social and political contexts in which they occur. Thus the way in which the nature and boundaries of national belonging are understood by individuals and groups both affects and is affected by the way in which other individuals, groups, institutions and power structures express and relate to ideas and beliefs pertaining to that identity. This study thus aims to examine some of the themes and ideologies pertaining to ethnic and national identities expressed in the interview contributions of individuals and in some media and government output.

The present study thus aims to answer certain research questions.

1. How are ethnic and state level identities being negotiated in independent Kazakhstan?

In pursuit of this the following questions are asked

2. How salient and valued are these identities?
3. How are the content and boundaries of ethnic and state identities understood and constituted?
4. Which outgroups are perceived as being relevant for comparison and on what dimensions?
5. How do individuals understand the roles of specific languages in relation to their own and others' ethnic and state identities and to the identity of Kazakhstan as an independent republic?
6. What beliefs do individuals express about the association of particular spheres of use or identities with specific languages?

1.9 Outline of Chapters

Following this introduction, chapter 2 sets out a broad context for the work as a whole by providing a brief historical overview of Kazakhstan whilst Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach employed for the fieldwork.

Chapter 4 investigates which levels of identity are salient and valued for the interviewees in this study and also explores the content of these identities and groups and dimensions perceived as relevant for comparison. Chapter 5 also addresses these questions, specifically in relation to a Kazakhstani identity and the themes relevant to it as it is constructed discursively by the interviewees.

Chapter 6 also relates to the individual interviews as it discusses the participants' language repertoires and their understanding of the roles ascribed to the various languages in use in Kazakhstan and their ideas about which languages are associated with which domains of use and what identity of speaker .

Chapter 7 explores the construction of a Kazakhstani identity in the context of the media by analysing extracts from several online newspapers as they relate to issues of language and identity in Kazakhstan. Chapter 8 similarly explores discourses of national identity, this time in relation to government legislation and to the responses of the MPs and senators interviewed during the fieldwork.

Chapter 9 provides a conclusion to the work.

2 Historical Overview

2.1 Introduction

As individuals, groups and the governing elite of Kazakhstan explore and negotiate possible aspects of identity for the independent republic, appeals and references are often made to aspects of the history of the peoples and territory of present-day Kazakhstan. The past is used to legitimate and explain present attitudes and policies and the selection of particular events and characters from history to be learnt from, admired or shunned is an important part of contemporary identity building. Whilst the present study recognises that there can be no single uncontested history of a state, only multiple competing narratives, it is nonetheless helpful to describe in brief some of the most prominent of these narratives. Accordingly, the present chapter provides a basic historical overview of the territory in order to set the research as a whole into context by describing key social and political aspects of its past and, at least in part, the peoples and events now being appealed to as evidence of the legitimacy and historical rootedness of the present-day republic. In doing so the chapter draws principally on the works of Olcott (1987), Akiner (1995) and Dave (1996), all of which inform my study.

2.2 Origins

Kazakh folk history highlights a single founding ancestor for the people named Alash. These legends are important in giving the group the sense of unity that derives from a shared origin and an ancient and unbroken link with the territory (Olcott 1987: 4). However, whilst there have been nomadic tribes present in the area of what is now Kazakhstan since the first millennium BC, historians are not unanimous about whether or not the group known today as Kazakhs are descended directly from groups present at that time at all, or from others moving into the region at a later stage. Similarly, whilst some historians assert the presence of a Turkic-speaking people in the area in prehistoric times, many believe that such a people did not appear in the region until the sixth century AD (Akiner 1995: 9). Akiner also highlights the way in which the history of the territory is important for the legitimisation of present nationalising policies in Kazakhstan.

“The desire to establish roots, to construct a national narrative that firmly links the modern Kazakhs to the territory of Kazakhstan, has made even the study of pre-history a highly political issue” (Akiner 1995: 8).

Following his extensive conquests in the thirteenth century the Mongol leader Genghiz Khan divided his empire between his sons. In time these areas of rule began to disintegrate further into smaller territories and groups which grew and shrank as power changed hands and was wielded more or less successfully. By the mid-fifteenth century a number of tribal groups began to draw together and formed what became known as the Kazakh Khanate. This grouping gradually extended the scope of its control and presided over a territory which provided the nomads with both the grazing necessary to maintain large numbers of herds and access to cities important for trade with a settled population (Akiner 1995: 10).

The tribal groupings that made up the Kazakh Khanate were united by their nomadic way of life, which differentiated them sharply from other settled populations. The importance to a group’s identity formation of differentiating itself from relevant outgroups is described in chapter 1 outlining social identity and self-categorization theories and its ongoing relevance for individuals in Kazakhstan is explored in subsequent chapters. However, the unity created by such a common way of life does not necessarily entail an accompanying sense on their part of possessing a single *ethnic* identity. Whilst Olcott states that by the time of the Kazakh Khanate, which she defines as a political confederation, the Kazakhs did constitute a people with a common language and culture, Dave argues that a “shared economy and cultural and linguistic uniformity do not in themselves affirm a sense of national unity or identity” (1996: 69). In fact the degree of population movement and uniting and disbanding of wider affiliations and groupings mean that terms such as Kazakh did not become settled and defined as ethnic markers until the time of Russian influence in the region. As such, Dave agrees with the argument that a “sense of ethnic identity, dissociated from a nomadic life-style... was forged only as a result of Russian colonial expansion and advent of agriculture and industries” (1996: 70). This

is in keeping with the concept of identity formation through differentiation from relevant outgroups as described by social identity theory and discussed in chapter 1.

2.3 Social Structure

During the sixteenth century, probably as a result of increasing competition for resources and in response to natural geographical divisions in the territory controlled which dictated migratory patterns, the Kazakh Khanate divided into three separate 'hordes' with each horde led by a khan drawn from the ruling section of society and supposed to be of the line of Genghiz Khan. The hordes each occupied a distinct geographical region and were known as the 'Big Horde' (*Ulu zhus*), living predominantly in the south-east, the 'Middle Horde' (*Orta zhus*), located in the central region and the 'Little Horde' (*Kishi zhus*), which operated in the north-west of the territory (Akiner 1995: 13-14). Despite this fragmentation, some degree of cohesion remained as the three khans periodically met together and occasionally elected a supreme khan who was sometimes able to unify the three hordes for a time. However, on the whole the khan of each horde acted in defence of what he saw to be his own best interests and freely made 'external' alliances with other forces, whether or not this brought his horde into conflict with another of the Kazakh hordes.

The foundational unit of the nomadic Kazakh society was the '*aul*' (sometimes transliterated as '*auyl*') or encampment, which primarily consisted of an extended family network or clan. The number of households, each with its own tent, which constituted the aul varied considerably. Such encampments each had their own elected leader and lived independently during the winter to increase the chances of all being able to find suitable grazing for the herds which were their livelihood but came together in groups for the migration to summer pastures or in times of war. Such groups of encampments thus formed somewhat fluid tribal units, whose membership could change as allegiances varied (Akiner 1995: 15).

The aristocracy who ruled these tribes were known as the 'white bone' ('*ak suiuk*'), sultans who claimed to be descended from Genghiz Khan and who elected a khan from amongst themselves. As well as the 'white bone' there was also the 'black

bone' (*kara suiuk'*) aristocracy. These rulers were officially elected, although in practice the post was often hereditary and were in turn divided into *bii*, 'judges' and *batyr*, 'military heroes'. The extent of influence and authority of such figures varied a great deal, with some ruling over a small number of clans whilst others were able to unite a much larger number under their oversight. These leaders had direct jurisdiction over the affairs of these clans and tribes and functioned in an intermediary role between them and the white bone sultans and the khans (Olcott 1987: 13, Akiner 1995: 15-16).

2.4 Culture

The culture of this society was integrally linked to the nomadic way of life. There was no written literature but there was a strong oral tradition of epic tales, songs and poems dealing with topics relating to their patterns of migration, their natural surroundings and the actions of military heroes. Artistic creativity was expressed through decoration of functional items such as spoons and the felt used in the construction of the *yurts* or tents the nomads dwelt in. Family and community relationships were very clearly delineated and bound by prescriptions concerning hospitality, respect and duty (Olcott 1987: 21, Akiner 1995: 18-19).

The traditional religion of the Kazakhs was animistic in nature and involved the veneration of the sky, earth and water as well as of the spirits of the dead. The belief that the spirits of dead ancestors were able to protect and help the living meant that constructing and respecting grave sites was of great importance. With the gradual expansion of Islam in the region from the eighteenth century onwards, these beliefs and practices were syncretically added to the new beliefs to a significant extent and the inherently transitory nature of the nomads' lifestyle worked against the imposition of the orthodox, mosque-mediated and controlled Islam which was adopted by other, settled peoples in Central Asia (Olcott 1987: 19-20, Akiner 1995: 17-18).

2.5 Russian Influence

From the mid-seventeenth century onwards the Kazakhs came under increasing pressure from the aggression of Mongol peoples from the east who made repeated raids on Kazakh territory and had taken a significant amount of territory from them by 1725. This time is known by Kazakhs as the 'Great Disaster', and as well as a large loss of life and livestock it resulted in the disruption of trade and alteration of migration routes which had an effect on the economic balance of the whole area (Akiner 1995: 20).

By the middle of the eighteenth century these Mongol forces were themselves being driven out and defeated by the armies of the expanding Chinese empire, who in turn came to occupy traditional Kazakh lands.

In response to these threats the Kazakh leaders increasingly turned to Russia for protection, although in actual fact the situation was rarely clear-cut and the khans frequently sought to gain power over each other through outside influence and often attempted to play one potential source of military help off against another in an attempt to maintain their own position.

During this period it was becoming clear that Russia was the strongest force in the region, with a growing economy and empire. Russia was interested in gaining control of the Kazakhs' territory not so much because of the potential of trade with the Kazakhs themselves but because of the important trade routes to the rest of Central Asia, Persia and India thereby made available (Olcott 1987: 30). Russian influence in the region steadily increased and during the decade following 1731 the khans of each of the Kazakh hordes made commitments of allegiance to the Russian crown which were honoured to a greater or lesser extent.

By the late eighteenth century the hordes had lost all real independent authority and were splintering as they came under increasing foreign control. However, there was sporadic resistance to Russian control across the steppe and some periods when the Russian forces in the region faced more organised and unified uprisings. Key among

these were those led by Sultan Ablai in the eighteenth century and later by his grandson Kenisary Qasimov in the 1830s and '40s (Olcott 1987: 41, 64).

As the Russians extended their influence into Kazakh lands they established military outposts and bases which over time were linked to form a fortified line in the north, before securing the lands further south in the nineteenth century. Administrative management and control of the steppe lands also increased steadily and consequently the region was divided up into a number of administrative units in line with practice elsewhere in the empire. However, these divisions failed to take into account the migration routes traditionally followed by the various Kazakh tribal groups, thus making such movement of peoples more difficult and disrupting the balance of the whole social and economic system of Kazakh life through increasing administrative intervention and restrictions on access to grazing land. These effects were accentuated by the influence of Russian settlers entering the region, particularly in the north, who were predominantly farmers and introduced new agricultural practices and implements. The northern part of the territory was also becoming increasingly developed industrially and thus had much closer social and economic links to Russia itself than the southern regions. The increased levels of trade and industry also brought about a shift towards a cash rather than a barter-based economy (Akiner 1995: 23-4).

2.6 Cultural Change

The social, economic and administrative changes of the nineteenth century, accompanied by seizures of land to make way for Russian settlers and a number of severe winters had a cumulative effect on the Kazakh way of life such that a truly nomadic lifestyle became less and less viable and decreasing herd sizes pushed increasing numbers of Kazakhs into poverty (Olcott 1987: 83).

During this time the traditional systems of authority within Kazakh society were weakening, with no clear alternatives appearing to take their place. At the same time Islam was spreading amongst the Kazakh people and becoming a stronger part of society. The Russians had initially encouraged the proselytisation of the Kazakhs by

the Muslim Tatars in the hope that it would help bring about their settlement and 'civilisation'. However, as this failed to be the case and as religion became an increasingly distinct boundary marker between Kazakhs and Slav settlers, the latter part of the nineteenth century saw a campaign to convert the Kazakhs to Christianity but it met with little success (Olcott 1987: 101-3, Akiner 1995: 28).

Alongside these changes the Russians established a small number of schools initially intended primarily for Russian settlers but increasingly admitting Kazakhs and contributing to the development of a small secular Kazakh elite equipped to serve in the Russian administration, many of whom received further training and education in Russia.

The creation of such a literate and educated elite fostered an awareness of a wider national level identity. Akiner states that it was Kazakh 'mobilizers' – the "cultural and political activists – who gave substance to the concept of a national identity that transcended horde-tribe boundaries: by delineating a common past, they posited a common future" (1995: 29). The gradual increase in literacy and establishment of Kazakh as a literary language was also important and, with reference to Anderson's description of the development of nationalism, Akiner goes on to assert that, "the introduction of literacy marked a qualitative change in society. It broadened horizons, shifting the focus of concern from the *auyl* to the wider 'imagined' community of the Kazakh-speaking nation" (1995: 29).

The pressures on Kazakh society increased during the years of the First World War and caused rising levels of resentment which became open and violent resistance in 1916 when Kazakhs were first conscripted to the front. This rebellion was harshly put down and punished.

2.7 Early Soviet Rule

These resentments against the Tsarist authorities meant that there was initially some enthusiasm for the 1917 revolution. The Kazakhs supported the Provisional Government and a nationalist party, the Alash-Orda, was established. With the

overthrow of the Provisional Government an Alash-Orda autonomous government was set up which supported the Whites against the Bolsheviks during the civil war and lasted until 1919, when most of society had succumbed to Bolshevik rule and a growing number were convinced to switch allegiances to support the Bolshevik cause (Olcott 1987: 129).

The First World War and the Civil War which followed destroyed the established trade system upon which the Kazakhs relied, and with no means of trading livestock and a lack of grain available for sale herd sizes dropped dramatically. The situation was exacerbated by an extremely hard winter followed by a failed harvest in 1920-1921. As a result of this period of famine several hundred thousand people emigrated from the region and there were around three quarters of a million deaths. Factors such as these added to the strain on Kazakh society and made the traditional nomadic lifestyle still less viable (Olcott 1987: 158-9).

There was considerable debate amongst the leading Bolsheviks as to how to manage questions of nationalities policy and state organisation in the lands over which they were seeking to exert and maintain control. By 1918 a form of federation had been decided upon as the best compromise between the conflicting views and in response to the realisation that the economic resources of all parts of the former Russian empire would be important in order for the Soviet project to succeed. However, this was presented as being a transitional stage on the road to the coming together and eventual merger of nations. Hirsch (2005) describes this process and the challenges the Bolsheviks faced in this period.

“The Bolsheviks had set themselves the task of building socialism in a vast multiethnic landscape populated by hundreds of different settled and nomadic peoples belonging to a multitude of linguistic, confessional (religious), and ethnic groups... Before 1917, the Bolsheviks had called for the national self-determination of all peoples and had condemned all forms of colonization as exploitative. After attaining power, however, they began to express concern that it would not be possible for Soviet Russia to survive without the cotton of Turkestan and the oil of the Caucasus. In an effort to reconcile their anti-imperialist position with their strong desire to hold on to all of the lands of the former Russian Empire, the Bolsheviks integrated the national idea into the administrative-territorial structure of the new Soviet Union. With the assistance of former imperial ethnographers and local elites,

they placed all of the peoples of the former Russian Empire into a definitional grid of official nationalities—simultaneously granting these peoples “nationhood” and facilitating centralized rule” (Hirsch 2005: 5-6).

Although a first marking-out of the boundaries of Kazakh land was conducted in 1919 as part of this process, it was not until 1924-5 that the delimitation of boundaries in Central Asia was finally completed and the five main territorial units of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were delineated following the advice of ethnographers who studied “local cultures, religions, kinship structures, *byt* [way of life], physical type, and languages” (Hirsch 2005: 163). Whilst the Kazakh territory was predominantly culturally and ethnically homogeneous in its make-up some of the other newly designated units were far more varied in their composition. Thus the amount of nation-building to be done was arguably less for units with a relatively well defined pre-existing sense of group identity than for those which were externally defined as a group by the Soviet government. Initially Kazakhstan was known as the Kirghiz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (following the Imperial practice of referring to the Kazakhs as Kirghiz). It was renamed the Kazak ASSR in 1925 and in 1936 the spelling was changed to Kazakh to more accurately represent native pronunciation and it was also granted full Union republic status. Hirsch describes the importance of these processes.

“The national delimitation changed the political and social terrain of Central Asia, and led to a realignment of interests and identities. Members of the new dominant nationalities... stood to gain access to land, water sources, and other important resources from this reorganization of the region and began to redefine their interests and concerns in ‘national terms’.” (Hirsch 2005: 165).

The Soviet government’s main aim in the first years of its rule was to establish its authority in all areas of Kazakh society. Some traditional Kazakh customs, including those relating to blood revenge and marriage of minors, were deemed to be harmful to society and were prohibited by law. However, education was seen as the primary means of transforming Kazakh society. Accordingly, a campaign for mass literacy was launched and lectures were given in many districts to teach people about the nature and aims of the Communist Party. The focus at this stage was on education

through the mother tongue as the best means of promoting the ideologies of the revolution and fostering a sense of loyalty to it. In the early years efforts were also made to develop standardized languages with their own scripts for the Central Asian peoples. The Kazakh language was written in the Arabic script at this time. Some medical, veterinary and agricultural aid and advice was also given as part of this drive. However, overall these policies met with relatively little success and the authority structure and culture of Kazakh society remained little changed during these early years. The government's economic policies adopted during this period to increase levels of agricultural and industrial production also largely failed in their aims (Olcott 1987: 170-172).

The Bolsheviks had very little understanding of or sympathy for the nomadic way of life and accompanying culture with its oral-based literature and folklore. They saw themselves as bringing culture and civilisation to the peoples of Central Asia as a whole and particularly those such as the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz with a nomadic lifestyle and lack of written history. This formed part of their nationalities policy and what Hirsch refers to as "state-sponsored evolutionism" (2005: 7). This policy was based on the belief that it was possible to speed the development of populations through the stages on the Marxist timeline of historical development at an accelerated rate and thus facilitate their progress towards the socialist future. Hirsch describes the outcomes of this policy further.

"Characterizing "backwardness" as the result of sociohistorical circumstances and not of innate racial or biological traits, Soviet leaders maintained that all peoples could "evolve" and thrive in new Soviet conditions. The party-state devoted significant resources to furthering the population's ethnohistorical evolution, establishing official national territories, cultures, languages, and histories" (Hirsch 2005: 9).

Hirsch goes on to point out, however, that whilst some clans and tribes were thus selected and helped to develop into nations, the languages, cultures and identities of other such groups were wiped out as they were 'helped' to 'evolve', i.e. be assimilated into, those of the new nationalities that had been selected (2005: 9-10).

As stated above, the early language policies of the regime supported the development of the national languages and the use of the Arabic script. However, this policy was changed when it was deemed necessary to limit the influence of the Islamic clergy in the region and accordingly a Latin script was developed for the Central Asian languages. The Latin alphabet was argued to be linked neither to the Russian colonial past nor to the Islamic world and was thus suitable for the new republics and their emerging Soviet identities and by the 1930s many of the region's languages had switched to the use of Latin script. The introduction of this script served to sever Kazakhs from their existing literary past and promoted a new literacy influenced primarily by Bolshevik ideology (Dave 1996: 96-7).

A more violent disassociation from the past was achieved through several waves of repression and terror. The first of these, in 1928, resulted in mass arrests, largely of the intellectual and political elite of the republic. The second, in 1937, also affected members of the intelligentsia. There was a third wave in 1949-50. These repressions served to eliminate all opposition and intimidate the population into compliance with and allegiance (at least externally) to the Soviet regime.

2.8 Collectivisation

A fundamental change in society was also aimed at through the policy of the collectivisation of agriculture and final sedentarisation of the Kazakhs which began in the late 1920s. The first stage of this campaign involved further integration of Kazakhstan into the planned Soviet economy and a drive to persuade Kazakhs to join cooperatives. Following this, in 1928, as part of a Union-wide campaign a policy of complete collectivisation was initiated. This involved the forced appropriation of livestock aimed at equal distribution of wealth alongside forcing the population to join large-scale collectivised farms. Impossible targets of production were set despite an extreme lack of supplies and the fact that many areas were simply not suitable for farming due to being located in arid or semi-arid desert regions.

The program resulted in limited armed resistance and massive loss of human and animal life due to a combination of starvation, illness and the punishment which

followed the failure of the campaign. It is estimated that about one and three quarter million Kazakhs (approximately 40% of the population) perished during this period, whilst several hundred thousand fled abroad or moved to neighbouring Soviet republics. About 80% of the pre-collectivisation number of livestock was also lost (Olcott 1987: 184-5, Akiner 1995: 44-5).

Despite its massive failure economically, the campaign for collectivisation in Kazakhstan did achieve the final eradication of the nomadic way of life and to a significant extent the culture that accompanied it. Once no longer employed as an active part of life, the skills and traditions that made up Kazakh culture were easily forgotten or reduced to dead symbols of a former way of life, belittled as backward and representative of a lack of culture in the new social order.

During the 1920s and on into the 1930s the Soviet government also carried out an all-union campaign against religion. In Kazakhstan this involved closing down mosques and religious schools and confiscating Islamic literature. Legislation was passed restricting the rights of clergy of all faiths and in the 1930s the campaigns for collectivisation and against religion merged such that Muslims were arrested and executed alongside class enemies and those resisting collectivisation. The pressure on religion was lifted somewhat during the years of the Second World War, however. The general Kazakh population continued to identify themselves as Muslim despite little active knowledge of Islam as a faith although certain rituals and ceremonies were an integral part of important life events; the practices of circumcision and aspects of Kazakh funerals for example, and these, by and large, were preserved (Akiner 1995: 46-8).

The drive for ideological conformity also had implications for nationalities and language policy. Whereas in the early years diversity and the 'flowering' of many languages were encouraged, by the 1930s there was a focus on standardization and consolidation of socialist ideals throughout the union. Thus, only a decade after the introduction of the Latin alphabet in Central Asia there was a new wave of script reform, this time establishing the Cyrillic script. Similarly, traditional sources of

borrowing for the development of modern and technical vocabulary were rejected in favour of Russian. Also in the late 1930s there was an increase in the dominance and prevalence of the Russian language and culture throughout the union, both of which were compulsory aspects of study in schools throughout the country. The number of Russian medium schools grew steadily from this time (Dave 1996: 110-11).

This increase was at least in part a result of the rise in Russian migration to the Union republics in response to the attempted programme of rapid industrialisation implemented as part of the first five year plan for the economic development of the Soviet Union. Due to their higher levels of education than most of the indigenous population, ethnic Russians came to predominate in positions of leadership and more prestigious employment (Kolstoe 1995: 82). Kolstoe also describes how the schools, newspapers and other cultural facilities provided for the incoming Russians set them apart from other migrant groups. Such minority groups thus had to choose between Russian language schools for their children and education in the medium of the language of the titular population. The advantages associated with the knowledge of Russian meant that Russian language education was overwhelmingly chosen and “in that way they underwent a process of linguistic Russification, and thus contributed to a further strengthening of the Russian cultural imprint upon the non-Russian cities” (Kolstoe 1995: 83).

2.9 Korenizatsiia

Korenizatsiia is the name of the Soviet policy of indigenisation of the administrative elite throughout the various republics. It was initiated in 1921 with the aim of increasing the number of natives within the party and in administrative, educational and cultural institutions of the relevant republic in order to co-opt them into the regime and consolidate the success of the revolution (Kolstoe 1995: 73-4). Initially at least, the aim was also to promote the use of the national language within these institutions. The Stalinist purges of the 1930s directed against nationalists severely undermined these goals, yet despite this the general policy of indigenous representation within the administration of the republics remained. Dave asserts that the policy of *korenizatsiia* was important in that it “institutionalised the principle of

indigenous primacy and naturalized the belief that every nation must possess a primary, secondary and higher educational structure in its native language” (1996: 131). These beliefs now play an important role in the post-Soviet nation-building context as “the nationalists and language mobilizers in the post-Soviet nations have subsequently presented these institutionalised understandings of nations – based on a harmony between the ethnic group and its language – as legitimate goals that should constitute the state agenda”(1996: 131).

2.10 1941-1986

The experiences of the Second World War, known as The Great Patriotic War throughout the Soviet Union, helped to consolidate a Soviet identity in Kazakhstan and throughout the Union. Not only did Kazakh soldiers fight alongside those from other republics of the Union but civilians too were involved in the war effort as they were required to keep agricultural and industrial production going and accept young evacuees and relocated workers and industries transposed from the western front to the comparative safety of Kazakhstan. The war years also saw greater promotion of the Russian language and of the Russian people as ‘the elder brother’ and ‘leading nation’ amongst the peoples of the USSR (Smith, G. 1990: 7).

In the post-war, post-Stalin era, the Virgin Lands campaign of Nikita Khrushchev had a major impact in Kazakhstan. The aim of this campaign was to cultivate the vast areas of grassland of the northern steppes of Kazakhstan and southern Siberia in order to achieve a massive increase in agricultural productivity. The campaign was formally launched in 1954 and by the following year the area of land being cultivated had been more than doubled. Large numbers of state farms were organised to plant cereal crops on these lands and there was a drive to introduce more modern techniques into agriculture and livestock breeding. However, the funding for the project was insufficient and poorly directed and supplies of material and technical help often failed. As a result of the much-publicised campaign large numbers of Slavic immigrants arrived in the region to work the new farms although on arrival they often found conditions much harder than they had been led to expect. This large-scale influx affected the demography of Kazakhstan such that by 1959 ethnic

Kazakhs represented just 30% of the population, whereas the proportion of Russians rose to 42.4% (Kolstoe 1995: 244).

Agricultural production did increase dramatically, and the early harvests particularly were celebrated as a great achievement. However, in subsequent years targets frequently failed to be met, as bad weather conditions combined with the soil degradation and erosion, which were to prove the principal legacy of the campaign, began to take their toll (Akiner 1995: 49-50).

As well as changes in agriculture there was rapid urban and industrial growth during this period. The flow of Russian-speaking immigrants to Kazakhstan coming to the growing cities and to work on the farms as part of the Virgin Lands campaign was a major factor favouring the ongoing spread and dominance of the Russian language. The education system in Kazakhstan (as in the other republics) became steadily more Russified during this period and under Khrushchev the Russian language was given increasing prominence over other languages of the Union as it was presented as necessary for communication between peoples, for the development of science and technology and in order to provide access to the riches of Soviet culture (Dave 1996: 117). In terms of nationality policy this was also presented as promoting the unity of the nations of the USSR, an aim which Khrushchev described as being more achievable in the short-term than the still-acknowledged long-term goal of the merger of nations (Smith, G. 1990: 8). Kolstoe describes the way in which the Russification of the cities in particular gained increasing momentum and significance in the Union republics.

“The Russianisation of Soviet cities outside the RSFSR acquired a self-propelling character. As more and more Russians moved in, the indigenous rural population in the republics increasingly perceived the cities in their own homeland as ‘alien’ to them. To them, moving to the capital of their own republic demanded almost as much cultural adaptation as moving to another republic. To the new Russian arrivals, on the other hand, the degree of cultural adaptation required in order to settle into these cities became increasingly small. Non-Russians living in these cities or moving to them were forced to acquire a command of the Russian language” (Kolstoe 1995: 49-50).

Towards the end of 1964 Khrushchev was replaced by Leonid Brezhnev as head of the Soviet Union. The modernisation of agriculture and increases in production of cereal crops, milk and meat were priorities under this regime too, which once again met with only partial success, although the modernisation of farming techniques did help increase levels of production. The Brezhnev regime was, however, more pragmatic than its predecessor and the production targets set for the national republics were more realistic. Smith describes how, in return for meeting these targets and for “maintaining ethno-territorial stability”, “Moscow was prepared to allow republic elites both greater flexibility in native appointments to local positions and some *de facto* administrative leeway” (Smith, G. 1990: 9). However, where local leaders were perceived as having gone too far in promoting republic interests over those of the centre they were removed from their posts.

Brezhnev also further promoted the idea of the emerging new community of the ‘Soviet people’ which had first been articulated by Khrushchev. The development of this new community was seen as evidence of the progress made by the Soviet state in fulfilling its policies of the flourishing and coming together of nationalities. However, whilst the eventual goal of the coming together of all peoples was retained, Brezhnev was also prepared to acknowledge that problems still remained and that such integration could not be forced (Smith, G. 1990: 9-10). The leading role played in the Union by the Russian people was also highlighted in his speeches and the Russian language was further promoted both functionally and symbolically as the language of the Union.

Earlier in his career Brezhnev had spent time in Kazakhstan and after his departure he maintained contact with personnel of that time and promoted those he favoured and knew he could work with. These included D. A. Kunaev, who was given the post of first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party, a role he continued in until 1986. In his turn Kunaev was able to promote fellow Kazakhs to positions of influence within the republic.

Towards the end of the Brezhnev era the regime grew increasingly concerned by the high levels of indigenisation of cadre appointments in the republics. The concern that *korenizatsiia* policies had gone too far was further articulated by Brezhnev's successor, Yuri Andropov. In reference to nationalities policy, Andropov also restated the Soviet government's commitment to the eventual coming together of nations despite the acknowledgement that national differences would remain for a long time to come (Smith, G. 1990: 11).

2.11 The Soviet Legacy

The Soviet era brought massive changes to Kazakhstan. The huge loss of life associated with the sedentarisation and collectivisation campaigns and with Stalin's purges combined with the large number of settlers who arrived in the region, particularly during the Virgin Lands campaign, left the Kazakhs a minority in their titular republic for many years. Kazakhstan became, moreover, the most multi-ethnic of the 15 Soviet republics. Table 2.1 below shows the ethnic composition of Kazakhstan according to data from the 1989 census taken prior to independence. The ethnic composition of Kazakhstan in 1999 is also shown for comparison.

Table 2.1: Ethnic Composition of Kazakhstan

Ethnic Group	Proportion of Population (1989)	Proportion of Population (1999)
Kazakh	40.1%	53.4%
Russian	37.4%	29.9%
Ukrainian	5.4%	3.7%
Belorussian	1.1%	0.8%
German	5.8%	2.4%
Tatar	2.0%	1.7%
Uzbek	2.0%	2.5%
Korean	0.6%	0.7%
Others	5.6%	4.9%

Census data is taken from Dave 2004: 5.

The destruction of the traditional Kazakh way of life and the modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation of the republic, accompanied by the introduction of prescribed methods of education and Russian language, culture and arts all similarly contributed to the transformation of Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people.

The Russian language came to be seen as the language of modernity, of culture and of social mobility within the republic, and Dave stresses that Kazakhs learnt Russian not just for instrumental gain, “but for its *progressive* appeal as well” (1996: 138). This attitude is observable in the present research too (see for example chapter 6, quote 6:109 and following comments). Kazakh became a language of low prestige and provided limited prospects whereas Russian language education was of a higher quality and knowledge of Russian facilitated entry into higher education institutions and better careers for Kazakhs. Consequently, many Kazakh parents strove to bring up their children as Russian speakers. This meant that Kazakhs displayed high levels of bilingualism and the majority of non-Kazakh, non-Russian residents of the republic learnt Russian whilst the vast majority of Russians in Kazakhstan remained monolingual.

Despite these factors the Kazakhs retained a strong sense of identity as a people. This was displayed, for example, in the fact that 98% of Kazakhs in the census of 1970 listed Kazakh as their mother tongue, although it is very unlikely that anything like this number were at all fluent in the language, whilst just 40% claimed fluency in Russian, a figure also at odds with linguistic practice described as pertaining at the time (Akiner 1995: 52). It is reasonable to assume that these statements then represented a sense of identification with the ethnic group more than a true reflection of language repertoires.

The Kazakhs also maintained some ethnic group distinctions in the areas of food and traditional celebrations and rites of passage as well as in family relationships and respect given to elders in society. From the 1970s on there was a growing awareness of ethnic identity and a rediscovery of cultural symbols of that identity such as the yurt and traditional decorative designs, and this trend continued into the 1980s.

2.12 The Breakdown of the Soviet Union

Despite the increased freedoms of the time and willingness to reform, Gorbachev, who became Soviet leader in 1985, did not significantly reappraise the Soviet

Union's nationalities policy. He was, though, concerned by the system of patronage which had become entrenched in Central Asia generally and specifically in Kazakhstan under Kunaev. Consequently, in December 1986 Kunaev was removed from his post. That he was replaced by an ethnic Russian who was moreover completely unfamiliar with the republic represented a departure from the practices established over several decades and proved to be deeply unpopular.

A demonstration was held in Almaty on December 17 in protest at the appointment. The details of what happened at the demonstration are unclear; however, it is known that tanks were sent in, several people were killed and others arrested for taking part. Whilst the demonstration was not itself anti-Russian, Akiner argues that the Kazakh community felt unsupported by Russians at the time of the demonstration and that the resultant sense of

“exclusion, rejection and betrayal was the starting point for a fundamental reappraisal of the ‘great friendship’: the consequences of this shift were not immediately apparent but eventually it led to a distinct divergence between the political interests of the two groups. In the case of the Kazakhs, this merged with the growing awareness of ethnic identity, providing the impetus for the emergence of a nationalistic trend in public opinion” (1995: 56).

Although the immediate aftermath of the 1986 demonstration resulted in a more stringent imposition of ideological control in the republic it also represented the first of a growing number of displays of discontent throughout the Soviet Union. Despite this, Gorbachev failed to carry out a far-reaching reappraisal of nationalities policy and instead dealt with each new manifestation of unrest as it appeared and events thus gathered a momentum of their own. By 1989, when Nursultan Nazarbaev was appointed as First Party Secretary in Kazakhstan, the process of change was well underway. However, despite the growing sense of ethnic awareness described above, no coherent movement for independence had emerged in Kazakhstan by December 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed and independence came to the republic. Kazakhstan's dependence on the Union both structurally and economically meant that the disintegration of the Soviet Union was, in many ways, threatening to the viability of the republic and the well-being of its citizens and consequently

Nazarbaev was one of the last to remain faithful to Gorbachev and his proposals for maintaining the USSR in some form or other (Svanberg 1996: 318).

Akiner states that

“The collapse of the Soviet Union destroyed the entire context – cultural, economic, political and ideological – within which the modern Kazakh identity had been formed. Suddenly all the assumptions that had been taken for granted, from the conventional value judgements on Kazakh culture to the legitimacy of the Kazakh republic (which was, after all a Soviet creation), were called into question” (1995: 62).

2.13 Nation-building and Language Policies since Independence

As president of the independent Republic of Kazakhstan, since 1991 Nazarbaev has sought to legitimate and consolidate both his own position as national leader and that of the state itself. He has presented himself as being committed to political and economic reform but on his own terms and at the pace he deems most conducive to the stability and prosperity of the country¹. As well as the question of the legitimacy of Kazakhstan as a state, the nature of the republic’s history as outlined above means that Nazarbaev and other government representatives have had to deal with many challenges in forging a coherent identity for the independent republic due to its huge geographical scope, multi-ethnic population and significant differences between urban and rural culture and standards of living. Many of these challenges and tensions are apparent in the discourses explored in subsequent chapters.

Nazarbaev has sought to portray Kazakhstan as a bridge between Europe and Asia and has fostered links with the United States and Western Europe as well as Russia and also with China. Due to the weak and heavily trade-dependent nature of Kazakhstan’s economy when it gained independence, Nazarbaev has sought the aid of international experts and investment in the country from both the West and the Far

¹ Dave argues that this “fixation” with stability is in fact a hindrance to democratic reform and civic involvement. She states that “democracy emerges out of societal contestation and debate over identity issues, rather than as a consequence of the ‘stability’ manufactured by the regime, which also rests on a continual effort to co-opt the civil society and opposition” (2007b: 170).

East in order to help with the processes of privatisation and of transition to a strong market economy (Svanberg 1996: 328). The president thus hopes to establish Kazakhstan as a recognised member of the global community with a modern and internationalist outlook.

Alongside these processes, however, Nazarbaev has also sought to construct a national identity for Kazakhstan which, without unduly alienating the large proportion of Russian and other minority nationalities resident in (and in many cases economically necessary to) the republic, is nonetheless built around the titular ethnic group and aspects of their culture. Such nationalising policies are common to a greater or lesser extent to all the post-Soviet borderland regimes.

In an overview of the nation-building projects undertaken by leaders in the post-Soviet states Smith (1999) highlights the importance to all of the processes of de-Sovietisation, of boundary marking and differentiation between the titular nationality and other ethnic groups and of developing and standardising an acceptable national culture for the new polity (1999: 76-7).

As in Kazakhstan, this national culture is invariably based upon that of the titular ethnic group. These processes involve the re-evaluation of history in order to establish a “pre-Soviet legitimacy for the... state and its existing territorial boundaries” (Akiner 1995: 62) and the incorporation of symbols and mythologies associated with the titular group’s history and culture into the republic’s national identity. However, it is the establishment of the titular language as that of the state which is perceived as the most important part of the process by many of the new states’ governing elites.

In her assessment of language change in the post-Soviet states Pavlenko (2008) identifies “derussification and shift in the direction of titular languages” as “key goals of post-Soviet language policy and planning” (2008: 8). She argues, however, that the presence of large numbers of monolingual Russian speakers, the Russification of many members of the titular ethnic group, the existence of

multiethnic populations used to relying on Russian as a lingua franca and the functional limitations of some of the titular languages complicate and inhibit the successful implementation of such policies in all the post-Soviet states investigated (2008: 9).

All of these factors are relevant and significant in Kazakhstan. Thus, whilst the central aim of state language policy has been to elevate the status of Kazakh in relation to that of Russian and to reverse the Russifying effects of Soviet language policy, the complicating factors listed above have had to be taken into account in the formulation and implementation of the policies developed around this aim.

Fierman (1998) highlights several areas of conflict and debate surrounding language policy in Kazakhstan. For instance, even the name of the main law was contested, with Kazakh nationalists arguing for reference to only a single state language, whilst those concerned with establishing a more civic oriented state wanted the title of the legislation to refer to *languages* in the plural. Fierman maintains that “the ambiguous “solution” to this problem is typical of the way that Kazakhstan’s political processes have maintained social peace at the cost of ambiguity” (1998: 178) in that the Russian version of the law is clearly named as a ‘Law on Languages’ whilst the Kazakh title manages to remain ambiguous as to whether one or more languages are referred to.

A related issue of contention is that of whether or not Russian should be granted the status of being a ‘state’ or ‘official’ language alongside Kazakh. The constitution adopted in 1995 recognises Kazakh as the sole state language. However, concession has also been made to the proponents of a recognised status for Russian by declaring that “In state institutions and local administrative bodies the Russian language shall officially be used on equal grounds with the Kazakh language” (Article 7.2). Once again the legislation is formulated somewhat ambiguously in order to defuse conflict by allowing for varying interpretations as to what “officially used” actually means (Fierman 1998: 179-180).

There have also been many debates over the question of whether there should be language requirements associated with official government posts or even with more general employment. At present only the post of president and those of chairperson to the two houses of parliament carry the stipulation of proficiency in the Kazakh language, although frequent calls are made for this to be extended to other roles. In these debates, both those advocating Kazakh language requirements and those opposed to them invoke the notion of linguistic and human rights in defence of their arguments. However, Smagulova (2008) suggests that the failure of nationalists to pass legislation imposing stricter language requirements is likely to be largely due to the fact that few members of government are actually fluent Kazakh speakers themselves (2008: 177).

Lack of fluency in Kazakh amongst government officials and the population more generally also affects the implementation of the government requirement to transfer all official paperwork to Kazakh by 2010. This law relates both to state organisations and private businesses and stipulates that as well as submitting official documents in both Kazakh and Russian, organisations must match the language of inquiry in their written response to a client (Smagulova 2008: 177-8).

In order to further establish the importance of Kazakh in the state building enterprise 2007 was proclaimed to be the year of the Kazakh language. The state budget for language planning was increased and campaigns undertaken to increase the quantity and quality of Kazakh language paperwork generated in state organisations (Smagulova 2008: 178).

The fact that education at all levels is widely available in both Russian and Kazakh and that the curriculum in each language stream is, to a significant degree, reciprocal, with Kazakh language students required to learn Russian and vice versa, is a significant stabilising factor in Kazakhstan. The education system is also heavily relied upon in promulgating the ideologies of Kazakh statehood including the validity of Kazakhstan as a state and legitimacy of Kazakh as an adequate state language (Smagulova 2005: 6-7).

In order to further consolidate the role of Kazakh as a state language, increasing attention has been paid to corpus planning. The State Terminological Commission was established to develop Kazakh into a language capable of being used for all functions of state and society. A division of opinion exists, though, between those who believe that Kazakh should maintain the ‘international’ vocabulary it already possesses (principally relating to terms for modern technology and governance and drawn from Russian) and those who argue that equivalents must be found or created based on Kazakh language roots (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele 2001: 160).

Other changes made in line with policies of nationalisation and de-Russification relate to changes in geographic and territorial names either by changes in orthography to better represent Kazakh pronunciation or by a complete renaming. Included in this process are the names of many streets and bus stops in Kazakhstan’s cities.

Dave (2007) states that the governing elite of Kazakhstan has “enacted a language legislation that sought to appease all strata of the society without compromising on the normative status of Kazakh” (2007: 166). One factor aimed at ensuring ethnic harmony and stability in Kazakhstan is the official support for multilingualism. In 2007 a government project was launched promoting societal trilingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English (the same languages are also promoted in Nazarbaev’s Kazakhstan 2030 vision). The government has promised increased finance and resources to promote teaching of and in each of these languages although it is clear that Kazakh is to remain the principal language of the three (Smagulova 2008: 183).

The constitution guarantees the protection of all languages in use in Kazakhstan and prohibits discrimination on the basis of language. Additionally, some provision is made for education in minority languages where a significant number of minority group members live in a compact area. School instruction is thus available in Ukrainian, Uyghur, Uzbek, Meskheti Turkish, Korean, German, Dungan and Polish (Landau and Kellner-Heinkele 2001: 181). However, on the whole the state regards

the promotion and teaching of minority group languages as being the responsibility of the groups themselves via the system of Sunday schools and national-cultural centres (Fierman 1998: 180).

It is noteworthy that language policy formation in Kazakhstan remains firmly centralised. The governing elite regard any potential devolution of issues of language to the regional level as a threat to the unity and cohesion of the state and of its identity. Nazarbaev has attempted to promote the Kazakh language as a unifying symbol of state relevant to all of Kazakhstan's citizens regardless of ethnic background and such a project would be severely undermined were individual regions able to downgrade the status of Kazakh in favour of Russian or another language (Fierman 1998: 184).

In a comparison of language policy and implementation in independent Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, Dave (2004) highlights the fact that both of these republics were highly Russified with large percentages of Russian and other European nationalities in their populations. Dave describes how, in Kazakhstan, the elites have presented a unified image, using language as a tool of indigenization and have managed to maintain a balance between regional and sectarian claims. She also asserts that in Kazakhstan "the cultural and linguistic barrier between Russified and rural Kazakhs has not acquired a political dimension" (2004: 128) and that Nazarbaev has been able to declare that the language issue has been 'solved' because it is no longer debated at policy-making level but has been moved down to a bureaucratic level (2004: 134). Success in policy implementation has been reduced to changing the language of official business and documentation to Kazakh (2004: 153) although relatively little language shift has occurred amongst the population. She contrasts this situation with that in Kyrgyzstan where "intraelite struggle, which coincides with existing regional and clan divisions has made the language issue more contested" (2004: 136). She further states that the linguistic divide between urban and rural members of the titular group is sharper and more politicized in Kyrgyzstan than in Kazakhstan (2004: 136-7). She describes how the divided Kyrgyz elites have had less success in imposing and implementing their language laws than their more unified Kazakh counterparts

arguing that “the more divided the elites are on core issues of national interest and identity, the greater is the ambiguity in the law and in the proliferation of contending claims” (2004: 150).

By this account the governing elites of independent Kazakhstan are achieving a measure of success in their nation-building and identity-forming projects despite the many challenges faced in this process. Interestingly, whilst, as outlined above, such projects focus on de-Russification and de-Sovietization, it was the Soviet period itself which defined Kazakhstan as a republic within its present borders and fostered an awareness of nationhood on the part of the Kazakh people by differentiating them from other similar groups in Central Asia. Soviet ethnographers were also responsible for the selection and reification of many of the aspects of Kazakh culture now being used in defining the identity of independent Kazakhstan. Adams (1999) argues that the Soviet elites successfully institutionalised understandings of nations and cultures such that present day structures and expressions of nationhood and national identity are based on these Soviet formulations. The Soviet institutionalisation of culture also established the norms of using culture for the promotion and expression of state ideologies and of the state’s role in defining and developing national culture which are evident in the nation-building projects of Central Asia’s present-day governing elites. In the context of Uzbekistan she states that

“An institutional explanation tells us not just how the Soviets repressed or passively tolerated aspects of ethnic identity, but how the state actively institutionalized the existence of multiple nations and nationalities... The Soviet version of Uzbek culture is accepted today because, prior to the Soviet period, there was no unified Uzbek culture: it was Soviet institutions that were responsible for defining and developing that culture in the first place” (Adams 1999: 356-7).

In defining the borders of the Central Asian states and designating each as the homeland of particular groups the Soviet elite established the territorial principal now used to justify cultural and linguistic nationalising policies in these states. Kazakhstan has been defined as the home of the Kazakhs such that they are

presented as the rightful state-formers whose language is therefore naturally that of the state.

3 Methodology

3.1 Interviews in Research

In my exploration of language and identities in present day Kazakhstan I decided to use semi-structured individual interviews. The use of interviews is widespread in work which aims to gain insight into subjective beliefs and attitudes towards a research issue. Interviews are valuable for providing both structure and flexibility in that the researcher can determine the overall direction of the interview but can also respond to the interlocutor. The conversational nature of an interview can thus be utilised to draw responses from participants and to encourage them to follow up or elaborate on particularly interesting or relevant comments. Other advantages of interviewing include the fact that when they are conducted in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere the participant is likely to feel able to express attitudes and opinions and to elaborate points of view more fully than is possible through the written medium of a questionnaire. The researcher is also able to demonstrate that she is interested in participants' personal ideas and to show readiness to hear those ideas in a way which is not possible through less personal or immediate research methods.

However, the context of an interview itself, albeit an informal one, must be seen as a specific social context which will in turn have a bearing on the participants. Interviewees are engaging with a particular interlocutor in a particular context and will therefore respond to these factors. The personal characteristics of the interviewer (and translator) may influence participants' responses. Perceptions of the conversational audience as in- or outgroup representatives may affect the way in which interviewees express themselves and seek to portray their own group membership. Participants may ascribe certain norms to communication with such an audience and thus modify responses to accommodate or reject those norms as personal and group motivation directs.

This does not nullify the interview as a means of investigating beliefs and attitudes towards identity; all research methods take place within a specific context, but that context must be acknowledged and its implications recognised. Commenting on the

fact that survey questionnaires constitute a specific communicative context to which participants respond, Ellemers, Barreto and Spears write that

“...it would seem that participants’ ratings of degree of group identification may in themselves constitute strategic statements of the right to claim membership in social groups *to a given audience*. This view does not imply that when engaging in such responses participants are not expressing a ‘true’ feeling of identification with a group. By contrast, it stresses the fact that ‘true’ social identities are not immutable cognitive structures, but that they are contextualized statements about how one wants to be positioned in the social system and how one wishes to relate to others.” (1999: 137, italics mine)

In his extensive research into the Russian-speaking populations of Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan since the break up of the Soviet Union, David Laitin and his team made use of interviews with ordinary people in each country (Laitin 1998). By this means Laitin was able to gain understanding of individual and community responses to the identity crises posed by the end of the Soviet Union and the changing linguistic landscapes of the nations involved. The words of individuals actually experiencing these changes make the work more vital and convincing.

Similarly, Wodak and her co-authors used both group and individual interviews in their research into national identity construction in Austria (Wodak et al. 1999). In group interviews information can be drawn from a large number of participants quite quickly and economically. Such group discussions may also bear a closer resemblance to natural conversation and therefore draw out more genuine responses from the participants. However, one or two particularly confident or vocal members of the group may dominate the discussion such that other members feel unable to express their own ideas or may modify their ideas to align themselves with the dominant members or majority of the group. The more public setting of the interview may also inhibit participants’ free expression of attitudes and beliefs, particularly regarding sensitive or controversial topics. The group environment also makes it harder for the interviewer to ask particular participants for additional or more detailed information. In practical terms group interviews also pose greater challenges for recording and transcribing the dialogue as simple recording equipment is not able to pick up sound from all angles and distinguishing individual voices during

playback can be very difficult. It was reasons such as these that led Rajah-Carrim (2005) to modify her approach and conduct only individual interviews during her research into Mauritian Creole and also influenced the decision to follow the same methodology in the present study.

I decided to focus my interviews on students of secondary schools and universities and also to interview some members of staff at these institutions. As described in the introduction (1.1), educational establishments are sites of interaction between the ideologies of government and of individuals in relation to language and group identities. Also, the language beliefs formed and choices made by the present generation of students will influence the linguistic culture of Kazakhstan in future years. For these reasons schools and universities constitute an important research environment and I decided to conduct the majority of interviews within this context.

3.2 Formulating a Research Schedule¹

Having therefore decided that individual interviews were the most appropriate and accessible means of conducting my research I began the process of formulating an interview schedule that would enable me to explore the relevant issues as thoroughly as possible within a practical time-frame for a single interviewee. As I did so I strove to achieve a suitable balance between depth and breadth of content and to keep the interview sufficiently concise that length would not be a deterrent or prohibiting factor and such that I would be able to conduct a reasonable number of interviews during my time in Kazakhstan. I also endeavoured to compose an interview that would be accessible to all participants whilst allowing me to explore the relevant issues from a social identity perspective.

One of the main points of the self-categorisation framework is that individuals categorise themselves at different levels of inclusiveness from the individual level to broader levels of group identity which themselves may form a subgroup of a yet more inclusive group identity and may also contain more restricted subgroups within

¹ See Appendix A for a copy of the interview questions.

themselves. Individuals possess multiple possible self-categorisations and the saliency of any given identity is strongly influenced by the immediate context of interaction.

As a result, it was important that the interview made group identities salient and I sought to achieve this without overly restricting responses by asking questions pertaining to national and ethnic identity at the start of the interview. This approach assumes that these particular group identities are relevant to respondents in Kazakhstan but I felt that this was justified given that my previous research in the area (carried out as part of MA and MSc studies) showed that individuals are willing to categorise themselves in this way and usually respond readily to questions pertaining to these distinctions.

Another factor prominent in the literature is that degree of identification with a group is highly variable and also plays an important role in determining attitudes and behaviour towards both in- and outgroup members. In order to gain information regarding strength of commitment to national and ethnic identities I included questions about the independence of Kazakhstan as a republic and questions concerning self- and other categorisation in national and ethnic terms.

Also important to categorisation is the defining content of a particular identity. In order to investigate this area of group identity norms, questions relating to what makes an individual a member of a particular ethnic group and to the importance of language to this identity were included. There are also questions to ascertain the dimensions of comparison used in relation to different ethnic and national groups.

Drawing on the results of previous research it was expected that language would be perceived as an important aspect of group identity and therefore questions relating to Russian, Kazakh and English were included. I sought to ascertain the values attached to different languages by asking about their suitability in various spheres. The role of language in identity formation was investigated through questions regarding perceptions of speakers of each of the various languages.

In order to gain further insight into patterns of language use and self-categorisation I included questions on individual use of and beliefs about Russian, Kazakh and English.

As well as distinctiveness between groups the existence of positive and negative aspects of a group identity is also relevant. Therefore questions relating to such perceptions of aspects of ethnic and national identity were included.

I aimed to obtain some information about perceptions of group status and the stability and legitimacy of the existing structure through questions relating to the relative importance of languages in employment and education and to the notion of official language/s in Kazakhstan.

Once I had completed a research schedule which I thought suitable for use during the fieldwork I was able to do a pilot interview with a Kazakh friend studying in Britain. This was valuable in enabling me to familiarise myself with the interview process and, to a limited extent, to check that the questions themselves were comprehensible and suitable for my purpose. I was also able to practise using the recording equipment in an interview context.

3.3 Fieldwork Preparation

Throughout the time during which I was formulating the research schedule I was also engaged in practical preparations for my time in Kazakhstan. I arranged to spend just over eight weeks in the country from mid-January to mid-March 2005, and decided to confine the majority of my research to students and staff of schools and universities in the city of Shymkent in South Kazakhstan Oblast. I was aware that as I was able only to undertake research of this duration the breadth of my investigations would be limited. Any large-scale investigation into the views of all segments of the population or all regions of the country was well beyond the possible scope of my research. I therefore decided to concentrate on the city of Shymkent, in which I had previously worked, as this would enable me to utilise existing local

knowledge and contacts to maximise what was achievable during a relatively short period of fieldwork. I make no claims that any findings can be generalised to other regions; indeed, many participants articulated a belief in the differing character of residents of other regions, or other segments of the population.

However in order to expand my understanding of the same issues from the perspective of those involved in the government of Kazakhstan I also planned to visit the capital city, Astana, to speak to Members of Parliament and Senators working there. I therefore began the process of organising a visit to Astana by means of the help of a British national living in Kazakhstan.

Also during this time I asked other contacts living in Shymkent to find a suitable translator with whom I could work in the schools and universities of Shymkent. I wanted to give interview participants the opportunity to express themselves in either Russian or Kazakh and whilst I speak Russian sufficiently well to conduct the interviews, regrettably I do not know Kazakh. It is acknowledged that this is a possible weakness of the research; however, I felt that, for the purposes of my research using the social identity perspective, the content of participants' replies was the most relevant factor and that this would be available for analysis even through the medium of translation. In light of my inability to use Kazakh I decided to conduct all interviews by means of a translator in order to keep conditions from one interview to another as similar as possible. In practice, however, my translator was not available on every occasion and I was therefore required to conduct some interviews (those with Russian medium of education students) alone, without the presence of a translator. Moreover, after some weeks the original translator began to be so infrequently available that I decided to begin working with someone else. A further factor to be taken into consideration is that many of the participants either chose or were encouraged by their teachers to practise their English in the interview context and were thus expressing themselves through the medium of a foreign language. Although I tried to discourage this and urged participants to speak in the language in which they felt most comfortable as I was a guest in the institutions and was dependent on the good will of the staff and students involved I did not feel I could

press this issue. Again, whilst the use of English affects the fluency of participants' responses, I did not feel that it had an overly detrimental effect on the suitability of their responses for analysis.

Time was often limited during interviews and for this reason, when a translator was present although I asked all questions through him or her, when the replies were in Russian they were not translated into English and I simply continued with the next question unless I required clarification of a particular word or expression. Sometimes participants code-switched quite extensively during their contributions, using a combination of both Russian and Kazakh, and this tended to mean that the translation was less thorough than otherwise as the translator lost track of which segments of speech I had and had not understood.

3.4 The Fieldwork Site: Shymkent

The city of Shymkent was founded as a staging post on the Silk Road and was the site of a frontier fort in the nineteenth century but has been entirely rebuilt since the Second World War. Shymkent is an important industrial centre and the site of a large oil refinery. It is the regional capital and Kazakhstan's third largest city with a population of approximately 545,400 in 2009.² Situated in the south of the country, the majority of Shymkent's population are ethnic Kazakhs but there is also a significant Uzbek minority (Shymkent lies relatively close to the Uzbek capital, Tashkent) as well as Russians and other minority groups. For the South Kazakhstan region as a whole, Kazakhs make up approximately 55% of the population and Russians 15%.³

² <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5487.htm>

³ http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/pdf12/fco_pdf_kazakhstanregions

Figure 3.1: Map of Kazakhstan



Map Source: <http://www.virtualsources.com/Countries/Asia%20Countries/Kazakhstan.htm>

3.4.1 The Translators

The first translator with whom I worked was a male ethnic Kazakh in his mid-twenties. A former medical student, he had become disillusioned with the system of internship, which he believed to be corrupt, and had left to set up his own business teaching English. Bakhit is fluent in English, Kazakh and Russian and seemed to converse equally willingly and easily in either Russian or Kazakh with friends and colleagues. He seemed to be competent as a translator. At the start of my fieldwork he was freely available to work with me and proved very helpful in making contact both with institutions and with individual students. However, his business concerns seemed to become an increasing priority for him and on occasion he asked a colleague to work in his place.

This second translator was also a male ethnic Kazakh of the same age and equally fluent in Russian and Kazakh although he seemed to prefer Kazakh in social dialogue. Irkan was less competent in English and I consequently had less confidence in the complete accuracy of his translation from Kazakh.

Because of my concerns about the availability of Bakhit and the competence of his colleague I sought to find a new translator with whom I could work more freely. I

was put in contact with a final year student of a local Language Academy with whom I had had some contact on a previous visit to Shymkent. Dinara is in her early twenties and is fluent in Russian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tatar and English. Ethnically she is half Tatar, half Uzbek and uses all the listed languages (except English) in the home depending on with which member of the family she is speaking. She proved to be very professional in her approach and I had full confidence in her translating skills. She was also able to negotiate access to the Language Academy in order for me to conduct interviews there.

3.4.2 The Institutions

The Language Academy is a private university which focuses on the teaching of English but also gives students some instruction in either French or German in the latter years of study. It has a good reputation for quality and employs native English speakers for some of its teaching.

Another private university into which I was able to gain access is Miras University. Miras is a particularly successful private university which in recent years has expanded to occupy extensive second premises. It teaches a wide range of subjects and has both Russian and Kazakh medium of instruction groups. The Director of the university is well connected and innovative. He is introducing English as the medium of instruction for technological subjects and is keen to develop the skills and training of his staff. The university generally has a good reputation for the quality of teaching and standard of education received.

The Kazakh-Turkish University in Shymkent is funded with money from Turkey. It is a large university and popular in particular with ethnically Kazakh students. I was unsuccessful in my attempts to gain access to the university itself and was not allowed to conduct interviews in the university. However, Irkan had personal contact with a number of current students. He was therefore able to arrange for me to meet with and interview these students in their own time in his classroom. He also introduced me to two teachers whom I was then able to interview.

The South Kazakhstan State University is, as its name suggests, state-funded. It is a relatively large university but does not enjoy a particularly good reputation for the quality of education received there. I made no attempt to interview inside the university as Bakhit and his colleague made arrangements with individual students to come to his classrooms to be interviewed. Through another local contact I was also able to conduct an interview with an English teacher from the university (at the private institution where she herself was learning English).

The first school I visited is a private school not far from the centre of the city. Salem school is quite small and benefits from native speaker English teaching and small class sizes. I interviewed 12 students aged 15 and 16 at this school and three members of teaching staff including the school's Director.

Bakhit arranged my visit to a second school where his mother works as a teacher. Situated on the outskirts of the city, school number 37 is a Kazakh-Uzbek school with both these languages used as a medium of instruction. At this school I spoke with the Director and interviewed several members of staff. Unfortunately there was a fault with the recording equipment on this occasion and only part of the conversation with the Director and one teacher interview has been preserved.

I intended to return to this school to interview students and was invited to do so. However on one occasion my translator was prevented from accompanying me at the last minute and before a second scheduled visit had taken place there was a violent incident at the school. Apparently students from one ethnic group attacked a teacher of the other nationality and in return same-nationality students acted in defence of the teacher. A gun was used and several students and the member of staff were hospitalised though no-one was seriously wounded. Although the incident was apparently reported on the local television news I could not find any further, more detailed or substantiated information. It meant though, that it was deemed inappropriate for me to return to the school at that time.

3.4.3 The Interviews

In order to gain as balanced and broad a perspective as was feasible it was my aim to interview at least ten students from each of the institutions I visited and, with the exception of the Kazakh-Uzbek school, I was able to do so. In total I successfully recorded interviews with 65 students (including one recent graduate) and 17 teachers yielding approximately 51 hours of dialogue.⁴

The role of the interviewer (and translator) as an in- or out-group member in relation to the interviewee was discussed briefly above (section 3.1). In my experience, as I carried out the interviews in Shymkent, I was at times aware of the fact that my gender as a female was perhaps an issue for some of the participants. I particularly felt that Kazakh males perceived the gender difference between us as an inhibiting factor preventing them expressing themselves as freely as they might otherwise have done. I also felt that there was a perception of greater cultural difference between myself and respondents whose primary language was Kazakh than between myself and those most comfortable speaking Russian and that this too had an affect on the way in which participants expressed themselves within the interview context. Whilst it is worth bearing such factors in mind it is also to be understood that the above is a description of my perceptions of the situation only. As well as being impossible to quantify, such factors are also impossible to eliminate and form the backdrop to any such investigations carried out by a Westerner within a Central Asian research setting such as Shymkent where participants have relatively little contact with Westerners or experience of the type of research being undertaken.

The intended trip to Astana proved to be quite difficult to arrange and it was not until the final week of my stay in Kazakhstan that I was able to finalise arrangements sufficiently and travel to the capital. I was able to gain admittance to the senate and parliament buildings through the help of Senator Kuanishbek Kulbaevich Bultaev, one of the Senators for the South Kazakhstan Oblast at that time. Senator Bultaev

⁴ A CD containing the full transcripts of all the interviews carried out is attached to this thesis for examination purposes. It cannot, however, be placed in the public domain due to the assurances of confidentiality given to the interviewees when the recordings were made.

introduced me to a number of his colleagues who were willing and able to be interviewed. I modified my basic research schedule from that used in the educational setting in order that the questions be more appropriate to the role and knowledge of the participants⁵. There was also on occasion an increased time pressure on the duration of these interviews and the participants were sometimes interrupted by visitors or telephone calls. However, I was able to have interesting and valuable conversations with 7 senators and 2 MPs resulting in approximately 4 hours of recording. The senators interviewed included Kazakhs, a Russian, a Tatar and an ethnic German. There was no translator with me on this trip and all conversations took place in Russian.

The equipment used to record the interviews consisted of a Sharp MT80 minidisk recorder and a Sony ECM 909A microphone. Both of these were small and therefore proved very convenient for carrying around easily and setting up quickly during the time of the fieldwork. Their small size also had the advantage of being less obtrusive and potentially intimidating to participants. I also often reassured interviewees that the recording was being done solely for my own research purposes as well as describing to them the basic purpose and outline of the research. This was often necessary in order to reassure participants who were nervous about being interviewed. I therefore explained that they were not being judged on their responses and that I saw my role as being there to learn from and about them rather than as being in a position of authority over them.

In practice I had to modify the interview schedule to the available time and to individual participants' level of interest and engagement with the topics. Time constraints meant that in the vast majority of interviews I excluded the questions relating to differences in speech between participants and their parents and children as well as the last section of questions relating to personal experience at the particular institution. Most of the interviews lasted about 30 minutes although some lasted considerably longer than this. Interviews were generally carried out in an

⁵ See Appendix A for a copy of these interview questions also.

office or classroom of the institution. I was usually given a desk to work at and often tried to sit at ninety degrees to the interviewee to lessen the appearance of interrogation and to try and create a more conversational atmosphere. As explained above some interviews were conducted in the classrooms in which Bakhit and his colleague conducted their English teaching business. The interviews with Senators and MPs took place in the interviewees' offices.

In addition to the interviews I was also able to do some observation in the private school in Shymkent. I spent a day observing classes attended by the students I had interviewed and followed all or part of the group to their lessons for that day. I observed lessons in chemistry, history (including a computer presentation in English), Russian language, Kazakh language (top set) and Citizenship studies.

4 Personal, Ethnic and State Level Identities: Individual Interviews

4.1 Introduction

It is clear from the discussion of the social identity and self-categorization frameworks in chapter one that multiple possible identities are available to people and that various identities and levels of identity may be related to more or less strongly by a given individual, or, more specifically, by a given individual in a particular social context. Therefore, within the context of the research interview, it was my aim to elicit an indication of which levels of identity were salient to the students and teachers of Shymkent. In accordance with the focus of the present research I was principally watching for an orientation by my interviewees to personal, ethnic and national levels of identity. However, these identities were not viewed as being clearly defined in either content or level of inclusiveness and were taken as broad categories only. Certain interview questions were therefore asked with the aim of revealing participants' beliefs about the defining content and boundaries of such identities as well as identifying the outgroups deemed relevant for comparison.

4.2 Levels of Identity

4.2.1 'How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?'

Following the preliminary explanation of the interview and introductions of the participants the first question included was, 'How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?'

One purpose of this question was to increase the salience of group identity at the ethnic and national level at an early stage of the interview. Whilst not wishing to restrict or pre-empt responses I did want to bring these identities to the fore in order that the interviewee would be more likely to interpret and respond to the interview primarily in terms of social rather than individual identities.

The question was phrased quite openly, deliberately using the general word ‘people’ rather than ‘population’ or ‘nation’ (this was retained in translation) so as to leave room for participants to interpret it and answer according to their own natural focus in terms of salient level of identity. Accordingly, a variety of answers were elicited. Some interviewees focused on a republic-level state identity, interpreting the ‘people of Kazakhstan’ as all those living in Kazakhstan. Some, moreover, made explicit reference to the multi-ethnic and inclusive identity of the state. Others were more oriented to an exclusive ethnic understanding of identity where ethnic Kazakhs were understood to be the ‘people of Kazakhstan’. Still others ascribed greater importance to individual level identities, stressing that each person is different or denying the validity of a generalisation describing all the people of Kazakhstan together.

Some participants oriented to more than one level of identity and in such cases each reference was included and categorised for analysis. In some instances participants’ answers made no clear or distinguishable reference to any of these levels of identity and were therefore categorised as ‘non-specific’. In certain cases there was some difficulty in deciding whether a particular answer should be categorised as orienting to a Kazakh ethnic level identity or to a general Kazakhstani state level identity. This complication arose principally when participants described the people of Kazakhstan in terms of certain stereotypical character traits. These traits, the foremost of which is hospitality, are usually understood as being attributes of the Kazakhs as an ethnic group. However, there is also an understanding that other ethnic groups resident in Kazakhstan have taken on these attributes and in response to certain other questions this process is described explicitly. In some answers specific reference was made to the Kazakhs as an ethnic group alongside the characteristics described; in these instances answers were categorised as being ‘ethnic, explicit’. In those instances where characteristics commonly attributed to Kazakhs were listed with no explicit reference to a particular ethnic group the answer was categorised as ‘ethnic, implicit’. Table 4.1 below shows the distribution of answers according to these categories.

Table 4.1: Orientation of Respondents' Answers to the Question 'How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?'

Answer	No. of Responses	% of Respondents Mentioning
Personal	10	13
Ethnic, explicit	15	19
Ethnic, implicit	28	35
State	14	18
Non-specific	15	19

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Total number of respondents = 80

Personal Identity

It is described above how the first question was intended to raise the salience of social rather than personal identities by virtue of the fact that it invites a generalisation at the group level. It is therefore perhaps surprising that as many as 13% of the respondents focused on personal identity. To do so despite the phrasing of the question suggests that for such participants personal identity is highly salient.

Some began by making a generalisation adhering to the common stereotype of hospitality but then as they considered their response further qualified this with a recognition that in their actual experience individual level identities and characteristics are more salient.

4:1 “By their qualities?... First of all they’re hospitable, then what else? You meet different types of people, those who are open to conversation, those who are closed to conversation, at once, then there are people who are calm towards all people, caring people.”^{1 2}

In contrast, a teacher from the Kazakh Turkish University simply orients to an individual level identity straight away.

4:3 “People of Kazakhstan very different, they may be tolerant, well educated, kind-hearted, good-natured, they may be rude, ignorant people, they’re different.”

¹ See Appendix B for information on style and referencing of quotes

² See also quote 4:2 in Appendix C. Where † appears in this and subsequent chapters, supplementary quote(s) are to be found in this appendix.

Almost half of those giving responses in this category are Russian, which may indicate a stronger tendency for non-Kazakhs to focus on a personal rather than social level identity. However, the fact that only 10 respondents gave answers in this category means that it is too small a number from which to draw meaningful conclusions in terms of ethnic group membership.

Ethnic Identity, Explicit

Despite president Nazarbaev's frequently repeated rhetoric stressing the inclusive, multi-ethnic nature of Kazakhstan, there are those for whom ethnic identity is highly important and who see Kazakhstan as belonging principally and primarily to the titular group. This ideology is apparent amongst those who gave descriptions of the 'people of Kazakhstan' in exclusively Kazakh ethnic terms. Many Kazakhs feel empowered as the titular group to express a greater sense of ownership and belonging to Kazakhstan than other groups. They see themselves as the genuine and true people of Kazakhstan in contrast to other nationalities, who may be welcomed and accepted to a significant degree, as Kazakh hospitality dictates, but are not rooted in the territory to the same extent. Two thirds of the interviewees who gave answers in this category are Kazakhs themselves. However, this figure is only marginally greater than the Kazakh proportion of participants overall and it is perhaps surprising that it is not higher, as it might be expected that a greater proportion of ethnic Kazakhs would show such an orientation than members of other ethnic groups. Of the remaining 5 participants 2 are Russian and 3 are members of minority ethnic groups.

One of the Russian participants is very clear in describing her view of the 'people of Kazakhstan' in ethnic terms.

4:4 "Kazakhs live in Kazakhstan, it's their country"

The other Russian participant who gave an answer in this category also excludes her own ethnic group from the scope of the 'people of Kazakhstan', saying that she

thinks that (4:5) “such eastern nationalities are beautiful people,” thereby clearly marking the Kazakh people out as different to herself.

One of the members of a minority ethnic group, a Tatar man who teaches translation studies, also immediately oriented his answer to the Kazakhs as an ethnic group separate from his own and from Russians.

4:6 “In character, this people is very kind, very kind, open and there is a very interesting, good, useful and interesting point about the Kazakhs, they want to know a lot...”

As would be expected the Kazakhs who gave answers oriented to an explicitly Kazakh understanding of the ‘people of Kazakhstan’ used phrases marking their own inclusion in this group.

4:7 “In general *our Kazakhs...*”

4:8 “...in the time of the Soviet Union *we* lost *our* culture, traditions and language” †

One Kazakh participant further underlines the exclusive nature of this ethnic orientation to identity by focusing on a characteristic that, by and large non-Kazakhs do not share: language. (4:10) “Kazakh people speak the Kazakh language.”

His principal orientation is thus a highly focused and exclusive ethnic one and it is clear that for the other participants also giving answers in this category an ethnic level of identity is highly salient. For them the ‘people of Kazakhstan’ are ethnically identified and characterised.

Ethnic Identity, Implicit

In contrast to the description of the people of Kazakhstan as speaking Kazakh, which rules out most members of other ethnic groups, many respondents described the people of Kazakhstan in terms of attributes and characteristics which may be shared by other groups. However, where members of other ethnic groups manifest such traits it is usually said that this is because they have learned and adopted them from

their Kazakh neighbours. Therefore, although it is likely that most of the respondents who gave answers in this category were basically orientating to an ethnic Kazakh level of identity, and indeed this is often the impression given, such an orientation is implicit only, as no explicit reference is made to an ethnic group and it is possible that they are meaning to include other ethnic groups resident in Kazakhstan within the scope of their description.

This is the category with the highest level of responses (mentioned by 35% of interviewees), and once again a breakdown of responses according to ethnic group correlates quite closely with the number of respondents representing each ethnic group overall; for example, in this category 25% of respondents are Russian compared to 22% of all interviewees.

Answers which almost certainly refer to an exclusive ethnic level of identity include that of Salem school student 1, a Kazakh female who describes the ‘people of Kazakhstan’ as (4:11) “nomads” who “steal their bride.” These are characteristics which are unlikely ever to be attributed to Russians.

Similar implications are made by the Kazakh Turkish University student who states that the people of Kazakhstan are (4:12) “...always glad to meet somebody from other countries” and similarly by the Salem school student who says that they are (4:13) “hospitable” and “...don’t throw anyone out.”

It seems then that for many interviewees giving answers in this category an ethnic level of identity is most salient. If the two categories representing answers at this level are taken together to form one category pointing to an ethnic group level orientation, then that category represents 53% of all responses given.

State Identity

It has been described above that whilst the trait of hospitality is usually attributed to Kazakhs it can be seen as a representative characteristic for all residents of

Kazakhstan. Some of those for whom a national, state level of identity seems to be most salient make explicit reference to this.

4:14 “There are some things which are present in all people of Kazakhstan. I would say main traditions, like hospitality and um, openness... Friendly, I would say they are friendly.”

One of the students of Salem school makes her focus on a state identity clear by making an explicit comparison at this level.

4:15 “People who live in Kazakhstan, I’ve just been to Russia and can compare, all the same in the relationship between them, their hospitality, they are a lot warmer towards people and more sociable.”

A number of participants for whom a state level of identity was salient in this context made their orientation apparent by an explicit description of the multi-ethnic nature of Kazakhstan. Such respondents seem highly focused on the inclusive nature of such an identity and find in this a positive social identity. This is true for members of all ethnic groups.

4:16 “People of Kazakhstan uh, in our Kazakhstan there are many different nationality and er, I am very glad that...it’s good, in my opinion, all people it’s good I think.”†

One Kyrgyz student from the Kazakh Turkish University shows the inclusive nature of his understanding of ‘the people of Kazakhstan’ despite the fact that he himself is not of the titular ethnic group by his use of the pronoun ‘we’ and also makes it clear that for him this is a highly positive social identity.

4:18 “Very pleased with people of Kazakhstan. We are kind, we are hospitable.”

Summary

We have seen through participants’ responses to the first question of the interview that whilst for some interviewees personal identity in terms of individual characteristics and behaviour remained salient, many manifest an orientation towards

a social identity at ethnic or state level. Of those for whom this was true three quarters gave responses showing that for them an ethnic level of identity was most salient and of those focusing on a state identity many made reference to the ethnic make up of the republic. It is therefore clear that for those participating in this research social identity in terms of ethnic group membership is highly salient and significant.

4.2.2 'How would you describe yourself?'

Whilst the first question pushed the focus towards a group level identity, a subsequent question briefly oriented participants to their personal identity. The question, 'how would you describe yourself?', was phrased so as to be open to interpretation by the participants as to whether they answered in terms of identifying information such as age or place of residence, in terms of a personal character description or in some other way. The responses given to this question can also be used to ascertain which levels of identity are salient for participants. Accordingly, answers were categorised as to whether respondents described themselves in purely personal, individual terms, according to ethnic group membership or according to a state level identification with the Republic of Kazakhstan. Once again where respondents gave a description showing identification at more than one level both were included. The results are summarised in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Orientation of Respondents' Answers to the Question 'How would you describe yourself?'

Answer	No. of Responses	% of Respondents Mentioning
Personal	57	80
Ethnic	15	21
State	20	28

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 71

Personal Identity

The fact that a high proportion of participants made reference to a personal level of identity is expected for a question such as this. However, of more interest is the fact that despite the obvious bias of the question, of the 57 responses which contained a personal level self description, only 40 of these related solely to personal identity

whilst the remaining 17 also made reference to a collective identity at ethnic or state level. Thus, overall 44% of the respondents oriented towards an ethnic or state group level identity in their answer and 56% were oriented exclusively to a personal level self-description. Categorising references to other collective identities such as gender, occupation or student status was outwith the scope of this analysis. It can also be noted that the distribution according to ethnic group of participants giving a personal level identification closely matches the overall proportion of respondents from each ethnic group.

Ethnic Identity

This is not true of the distribution of respondents for whom ethnic group membership is salient in this context. Of the 15 responses in this category 13 are given by Kazakhs and just 2 by Russians. A possible interpretation of this may be that for Kazakhs in Kazakhstan ethnic group membership is a less problematically positive self identity than for members of other ethnic groups. It is widely acknowledged that the dissolution of the Soviet Union has posed numerous identity challenges for Russians living in the Central Asian republics (see Laitin 1998 for a helpful examination of the challenges facing the Russian speaking populations of several post-Soviet countries in this context), whereas for the titular nationality independence has meant the affirmation of their ethnic group and a marked increase in its status. Thus Kazakhs are keen to self identify as members of this high-status group. For the two Russians who describe themselves in ethnic terms this is done in such a way as to highlight the challenges and ambiguities of their status. For one, a student at Miras University, this is because of his lack of clear ethnic group membership and the challenge this poses to self-description and self-definition.

4:19 “According to my nationality, my father is um, Russian and half of Ukraine. My mother is Tatar. So I’m like um, double national mixed yes.”

The other Russian participant who gives an ethnic self-description in this context seems to do so in a way which highlights her minority status as she juxtaposes her ethnicity with her country of residence: (4:20) “I am Russian, I live in Kazakhstan...”

For the Kazakh participants displaying ethnic level identity orientation in this context, their ethnic group membership is much less ambiguous; it is explicitly positive and valued as the following examples show.

4:21 “I am a Kazakh girl and I am a patriot of my country.”

4:22 “I am Kazakh, it’s a proud.”

For these participants then, ethnic group membership is an important social identity. The fact that only 21% of respondents answering this question oriented to an ethnic identity whereas 28% showed a focus towards a state level identity is perhaps surprising in comparison to the responses to the first interview question where there was considerably more focus on ethnic level identity than on state identity. Upon further comparison of the responses to each of these questions it also becomes clear that the overlap between those mentioning an ethnic identity as salient in the context of question 1 and those doing so in response to the later question is quite small (5 participants) and the overlap between the two questions of those orienting to a state identity is even smaller with just three interviewees making a reference to a state level identity in both answers. This fact highlights the important role played by context in terms of salient levels of identity. A certain group membership may be made more or less salient by context and the effect of context will be different for each person according to his or her own set of beliefs about those identities and past experiences relating to them. Hence a student for whom ethnic identity is highly salient within the context of thinking about Kazakhstan may not view the same identity as salient in the later context of thinking about themselves. In that context it may be that a level of identity relating to their role as a citizen of Kazakhstan seems more relevant.

State Identity

The challenges posed to non-Kazakhs by the end of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the independent Republic of Kazakhstan have been highlighted above. They are also brought to the fore by certain participants for whom a state

level of identity was salient in reference to a self-description. One Russian student in particular expresses the loss of a sense of belonging that a secure national level identity engenders, a perception made worse by the linguistic insecurity due to the decline in the status of Russian in the new republic which she describes as the 'loss' of her native language.

4:23 "...of course I'm not a patriot of my country." ... "Because as they say, we don't have a native language. Your native language is the one your mother taught, if I'd been born in England, my native language would be English, although it's Russian so the same, if, well I'd happily live in Russia, and all that like USSR, national homeland."

It seems that this participant is searching for a positive group level identity but is struggling because the value of the group membership attributes of Russian ethnicity and language which were formerly highly valued and secure are now under negotiation and no longer provide a strong positive social identity. This is highlighted by the comparisons with the Soviet past for Russians and also with England where the white majority is similarly secure in its ethnic and linguistic status. The loss of status of the Russian language at the republic level is expressed as the loss of a native language, that is, for this participant its value has been so reduced that it can no longer contribute to a positive social identity and thus, for her it is as if it were no longer there: "we don't have a native language".

It is clear from this discussion that the various group memberships which are important social identities do not exist in isolation. For the participant discussed above, ethnic and state identity are closely linked and insecurity in the area of one is tightly bound to the negative status of the other.

Another Russian student at the same university also makes reference to the political changes and end of the USSR in relation to her own identity. For this student however, the changes are less threatening and are interpreted far more positively. She seems to focus on the newly acquired identity as a citizen of Kazakhstan rather than the loss of the old Soviet identity and sees future possibilities for herself as a result of these changes.

4:24 "...I am a citizen of Shymkent, of Kazakhstan. Er, I was born in Soviet Union now I live in Kazakhstan so it's very interesting...I want to study, I want to master languages, I want to achieve something in my life, I want to travel..."

In contrast to the sense of change and identity negotiation that the above quoted participants expressed, for other interviewees a state level identity was secure and straightforward. Indeed, for a number of respondents it was the only self description they gave.

4:25 "I'm Kazakhstani."

4:26 "I am patriot of my state."†

For these participants then, the social identity 'citizen of Kazakhstan' is secure and positive and, judging from the fact that it was the main or only aspect of their self-description, it is a salient and valued one; an important aspect of the self.

For some participants though, it seems that a variety of levels of identity are equally salient and value-laden and are equally valid aspects of the self. They are not willing to categorise themselves in terms of a single level of identity but draw attention to the overlapping and multi-tiered nature of their perception of self-identity.

4:30 "I'm Alikhan, I'm a student, I'm a person of Kazakhstan, I'm a Kazakh..."

4:31 "Dana, Kazakh, study at this school, citizen of Kazakhstan..."

Summary

It is therefore again apparent that each person has their own set of personal and social identities which may be identified with more or less strongly, be secure and positive or be insecure and problematic. The social context of the interview and the particular question, "How would you describe yourself?" makes certain of these identities salient for each respondent and this is manifest in the variety of responses given and explored above.

4.2.3 'What is the most important aspect of Kazakhstan's independence?'

Another question used to explore which levels of identity were salient and value-laden for participants was that asking what, in their opinion, was the most important aspect of independence. The answers people gave were categorised according to whether the respondent most valued aspects of independence which related to them personally, those which related to Kazakhs as a nationality or those which related to Kazakhstan as a republic inclusive of all ethnic groups. The relative distribution of responses into these categories can be seen in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Orientation of Respondents' Answers to the Question 'What is the most important aspect of Kazakhstan's independence?'

Answer	No. of Responses
Personal	16 (20%)
Ethnic Kazakh	22 (27%)
State	43 (53%)

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

Number of respondents = 75

% figure relates to responses as opposed to respondents

Whilst the relatively high level of responses orienting towards the benefits of independence at the state level is unsurprising given the wording of the question it is of interest to note that nearly half of the responses made were focused on the benefits enjoyed at the personal or ethnic level, once more underlining the multi-tiered experience of identity for these respondents.

State Identity

Many of those who focused on state level benefits spoke of independence or freedom itself as the main benefit and many spoke too of the economic progress made by Kazakhstan in the years since independence, both of which factors were valued and therefore contributed to the positive nature of the state level identity made salient in this context.

4:32 "Most of all I'm glad because it's improving, the crisis is past and now we're in the time of the upturn zone... it is sovereign, first of all we are improving our

economy ourselves, using our own resources... now Kazakhstan must decide everything in only its own strength.”

4:33 “Even though I’m not a Kazakh, Kazakhstan means a lot to me... [independence means] more pride in Kazakhstan... because now it is an independent country.”

Both of these students have been able to find a positive social identity in their status as citizens of independent Kazakhstan. These comments stand in marked contrast to those discussed earlier (quote 4:23), in which the loss of status of Russian meant that Kazakhstan’s independence was seen as a threat to that individual’s social identity at the state level. In fact both quote 4:23 and 4:32 were said by the same student. It would appear then, that whilst the loss of status of Russian is negatively perceived by this student, she has been able to draw on different group characteristics, in this case economic success, to maintain a positive state level identity in some ways, despite the threat she feels from the fact that Russian is not the state language. Different individuals bring different experiences and cognitive approaches to the task of understanding and expressing their own role as a member of the various groups and levels of society and events that for some are threatening and negatively perceived for others bring new opportunities for positive identity constructs.

Ethnic Kazakh Identity

The distribution of responses within the ‘state’ category according to the ethnic group membership of participants is broadly in accord with the overall balance of participants in these terms. However, unsurprisingly this is not true of those for whom the most important aspect of independence is expressed as being benefits to Kazakhs as an ethnic group. Of the 22 responses given in this category 19 are made by ethnic Kazakhs, with just one from a Russian and two from ethnic minority group members (a Tatar and a Kyrgyz).

For Kazakhs, independence has meant an increase in the status and value accorded to their ethnic group membership. For many citizens, being Kazakh and participating in the culture, traditions and language associated with that group membership is no longer problematic in terms of maintaining a positive social identity. For these

people independence has brought security and legitimacy to a positive experience of an ethnic level identity. Many participants responded by expressing appreciation of this new legitimacy and status.

4:34 “Independence is freedom - of language, culture and religion which was forbidden during the Soviet Union.”

4:35 “It took a long period to get our independence and now I’m proud of that, that I’m Kazakh, that I live in Kazakhstan, that I am part of this country.”

4:36 “The first that the Kazakh language is ...state language yeah, and our history is more, how to say? People know about history more than they, in the post-Soviet, the post-Soviet time.”†

The themes of history granting legitimacy and status to the group (discussed further in chapter 7) and the fact that independence facilitates a more positive experience of Kazakh ethnicity also come across in the response given by one of the senior teachers at Miras University.

4:38 “The independence? Um, uh, the independence for our country gives much because of the mentality of our nation. Much historical documents says about, nowadays are being opened um revealed maybe and they are, they are saying much about our history, um maybe the independence gave our nation mmm raising of their mentality maybe as a nation, the proud um, it helped um to know the roots of this nation.”

The fact of Kazakhstan and the Kazakhs enjoying increased status and legitimacy since independence comes across in many of the answers. Interestingly, the one Russian participant to give a response in this category identifies herself with the Kazakh language, describing it as ‘*our*’ language, and finds a sense of positive identity in what she perceives to be the greater freedom and recognition it now enjoys.

4:39 “The main thing in our independence is that our language is developing, the Kazakh language is developing it is starting to...receive attention from other countries.”

This student has chosen to embrace what is typically seen as an element of ethnic Kazakh identity, the language, as part of her own identity as a member of this emerging nation. In this way, by defining herself as part of the group which claims this language as a defining feature, she is able to enjoy the benefits of the enhanced status of Kazakh.

Personal Identity

Another way in which participants have utilised the changes since independence in positive identity formation is through an appreciation of the possible benefits to them as an individual. Personal freedoms including the freedom of choice in study, new opportunities in work, business and travel and new freedom of religion are all often mentioned in this context.

4:40 “Freedom in religion and freedom in travelling to other countries, freedom on starting business and in politics as well, I would say it’s more freedom.”†

For these people the changes since independence have enabled them to feel a greater sense of control in determining their own personal and social identities. They can choose religious and occupational group membership and can find a positive sense of self through a feeling of freedom and agency in their personal lives. The threat of categorization against their will has receded (see section 1.6.1 on identity threats) and these new identities are valued because they are self-chosen and formed with no sense of external imposition.

The ethnic distribution of participants giving responses in this category shows a greater proportion of Russians than for the group as a whole: 31% in this category, 22% overall. It may be that it is easier for ethnic Russians to perceive the benefits of independence in terms of personal identity choices rather than in relation to social identity categories. At the ethnic level independence has certainly meant more benefits and increased status to Kazakhs, which may be a cause for a sense of identity threat to some ethnic Russians. Similarly the loss of the Soviet Union as homeland has already been cited as a possible source of anomie and confusion for ethnic Russians living in Kazakhstan. These factors may cause such people to seek to

consolidate personal level identities and look for new positive aspects of self-identity by means of the same changes which have threatened certain of their highly valued social identities. Whilst any conclusions drawn from the ethnic balance of responses to this question must be very tentative as the sample is so small as to make statistical inferences questionable, it is certainly true that the transformation of Kazakhstan from Soviet to independent republic has necessarily meant similar identity transformations and redefinition for its citizens at many levels.

Summary

The wide variety of responses to the question, ‘What is the most important aspect of independence?’ further underlines the fact that individual experience, understanding and beliefs have a significant influence on the salience of any particular level of identity within a specific context. For some, the context of thinking about independence and the changes it has brought highlights a newly secure ethnic identity, or new and renegotiated state level belonging, whilst for others individual level self-identities are brought to the fore and explored. Independence has meant changes and challenges for everyone at all levels of self-perception and it is these challenges that are prompting the exploration and negotiation of the meaning and value of personal, ethnic and state identities in Kazakhstan revealed above.

4.2.4 State Identity: ‘Would you ever describe yourself as Kazakhstani?’

Participants Responding, ‘No’

We have seen above that many Kazakhs interpret the changes since independence in terms of benefits to their ethnic group identity. However, it has been part of government rhetoric since 1991 to promote a sense of inclusion and ethnic harmony in Kazakhstan as an independent republic. There is an effort to promulgate the ideology of a united republic, multi-ethnic but nonetheless cohesive (see chapters 7 and 8 for further discussion of government discourse). Consequently it was of interest within the interview context to explore the level of development of a sense of state identity for people as ‘Kazakhstanis’. The question put to participants was:

‘Would you ever describe yourself as Kazakhstani?’ The distribution of responses is shown in table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Responses to the Question ‘Would you ever describe yourself as Kazakhstani?’

Answer	No. of Respondents
No	8 (11%)
Yes	28 (40%)
Yes, abroad etc	34 (49%)

Number of respondents = 70

It was telling in itself that many respondents did not immediately understand the question and it often had to be repeated and explained before they felt able to formulate a reply. One respondent was very clear that an identity in this sense had not developed and even denied that a term for such an identity existed.

4:43 “No, like if you compare with America, everybody in America is American yeah? It doesn’t matter what nationality he is, but in Kazakhstan for example I am Russian, I am a citizen of Kazakhstan, I am not a Kazakhstani, like it’s... We don’t have such a word Kazakhstana, like Kazakh it’s nationality, like Russian, Turk, Turkish and others. So everybody in foreign countries think that Kazakhstana is, no, is a citizen of Kazakhstan but no we have Kazakh, Russian and etc. nationalities.”

In contrast a teacher at the same university, also a Russian, described how such an identity had developed through the close association of nationalities in Kazakhstan. This teacher described the intermingling of nationalities and merging of traditions as being strong enough to forge a new identity that goes beyond civic unity, that of an ‘ethnic Kazakhstani’.

4:44 “Well, I can say that I understand people in Kazakhstan you know, our country is have a lot of nationalities and they have some, they have much in common and so I can understand them, my husband, as he is Uzbek I understand his way of life, the traditions and um I like some of them, their traditions and we celebrate holidays, yeah, Kazakh, Uzbek, and so on Korean. Well and it makes ethnic Kazakhstani.”

However, this identity was not one that she herself actively embraced; when questioned further as to whether she ever had or would describe herself as ‘Kazakhstani’, she replied ‘no’ to both, explaining that she would describe herself saying: (4:45) “I am Russian but I am from Kazakhstan.”

Thus it seems that whilst a Kazakhstani identity is developing, this teacher does not feel comfortable in claiming it for herself, describing Kazakhstan just as being where she is from, suggesting that perhaps for her the label 'Kazakhstani' is not perceived to be a positive social identity whereas an ethnic self-identification is more valued. This was true for others of the participants as well.

4:46 "I am Russian from Kazakhstan."

4:47 "But actually I say, 'I'm Kazakh, I'm from Kazakhstan etc.'"

Of the responses in the 'no' category a high proportion, 6 out of the 8, are made by ethnic Russians, which may suggest that ethnic Russians find identification with an independent Kazakhstan at this state level threatening, or at least are more likely to do so than the titular population. This may be due to their loss of status in comparison with Kazakhs since the end of the USSR and consolidation of Kazakhstan as an independent state. However, it is too small a sample to draw any strong conclusions of this type.

Participants Responding 'Yes'

For the students and teachers who answered 'yes,' the ideology of Kazakhstan as an all inclusive, multi-ethnic state in which the culture and traditions of all groups are accepted is salient and valued. They show a willingness to self-identify with this definition of state level belonging.

4:48 "Yes, I am part of the Kazakhstani society and er, our society is multinational and er, the national character as tolerance helps us to live in this community, multinational community, and I am very proud that our nation er, this multinational state is stable and er different people can understand each other and can live in peace with each other. It's a great achievement for our state and for our government, for our society. And this proudness I feel when I see different sport, I mean so um, competition, sport competition yeah, we feel when our team we listening our team, the team of Kazakhstani and er, the banner of Kazakhstan raising so we feel very proud that we are Kazakhstani."

4:49 “Yes, I am a patriot of my country and when some people ask me why I don’t go to Russia, I think that it’s not my country, I was born here and this is my country and this tradition is also mine.”†

Each of these participants clearly derives a valued social identity from being a part of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The multi-ethnic nature of the state is interpreted as a defining asset and strength whilst mutual understanding and tolerance are reified as characteristics of the group. These respondents, representing different ethnic groups, derive a sense of worth and pride from this identity such that they feel positive emotions as a result of perceived group status and achievements, as described in chapter one in relation to the social identity and self-categorisation theories.

Participants Responding ‘Yes, when abroad, etc.’

Almost half of the responses to this question were that the participants would only use the self-description ‘Kazakhstani’ when abroad or in some other international context. For these participants it seems that the ingroup identity ‘Kazakhstani’ is made salient by the context in which this identity is seen to contrast to that of other state level groups (see section 5.2 for further discussion of this). The examples of such contexts usually cited were school or university academic competitions, conferences and sporting events.

4:51 “Of course yes, ...In different situations, in different, maybe yes in, in the sports contests.”

4:52 “At a conference or maybe in a foreign country.”

4:53 “Yes, when I lived in Russia for two years I said I was Kazakhstani.”†

This would seem to suggest that international social contexts such as these cause the state level identity to assume greater salience for these participants in a way which does not occur during everyday, intra-group interactions, where lower level ethnic or other identities have greater salience. Within Kazakhstan, contrasts and comparisons between ethnic groups are relevant to questions of everyday belonging and behaviour. However, in the international context people come to perceive that the

differences between themselves and other Kazakhstanis, even those of other ethnic groups, may well be less than the differences between themselves and citizens of other states along valued social and cultural dimensions such as, for example, the attribute of hospitality mentioned by so many participants as an important attribute of the group (self-categorization theory's comparative and normative fit as described in chapter 1). This realisation is manifest in the account of a Kazakh student of her time abroad.

4:57 "Yes, because uh, you know I was in England and only when I visited, only when I left my country I felt myself as a Kazakhstani really. I found out that, found out that I am patriotic person... OK, first of all I liked there very much... but then I, I began missing my parents and also my friends, my town and the whole country."

A Russian student also realised the importance of such republic-wide cultural values to her identity when abroad and says that, on a visit to Russia she felt different and described herself as Kazakhstani despite the fact of ethnic affinity with the majority population in Russia.

4:58 "Well yes, to be honest, I went to Russia last year and in reality it feels awful that you're actually from Kazakhstan and not from Russia, people are completely different, completely... And there in Russia they're less hospitable, that's visible straight away, they're more independent..."

A Tatar student at Miras finds the common life of traditions and celebrations marked in Kazakhstan most salient in summarising Kazakhstani identity.

4:59 "Usually if I'm communicating with foreigners and they most often, very often ask me to describe life in Kazakhstan of Kazakhstani people. To be honest I often describe the traditions because if I live in this country I also mark some celebrations."

These interviewees have become aware of valued ingroup characteristics which make them distinctive from outgroup members of other state level groups. They experience pride in the ingroup markers and are ready to defend them against outgroup threats and derogation. The ingroup identity may also be of sufficient importance as a self-identity that in the international context it supersedes other

identities and the ingroup member is highly aware of her role as a group representative. These points are illustrated by the responses of a Kazakh and of a Uyghur student. The Kazakh student responds that she describes herself as Kazakhstani

4:60 “Talking with other nationalities, defending Kazakhstan if it is belittled.”

The Uyghur student says that, when abroad, she would not describe herself as Uyghur

4:61 “... ‘Cos it’s not the first thing’ ... ‘if I go abroad, I show not my nation and not my culture, but I show my Kazakhstan... For example, if I left, left my school and I go to a new school, I represent my old school and the same thing with countries ‘cos they look at me and they’ll say, if I will cheat and if I will be bad or I will be criminalistic something they’ll say, ‘huh, everybody in Kazakhstan are bad.’”

Summary

The interview responses discussed above illustrate that whilst a Kazakhstani, state level identity may not be salient during most everyday interactions, in which ethnic or other smaller group identities are more prominent and involved in determining attitudinal and behavioural responses, the higher level identity is none the less an important and valued self-category for many in certain social contexts. Within the context of international comparison these citizens of Kazakhstan experience interactions in terms of their group membership as a Kazakhstani and respond in terms of that identity, seeking to promote positive group distinctiveness and status. In these contexts a Kazakhstani social identity is relevant to and valued by group members. There are others for whom that group identity is relevant and salient in other contexts as well and these participants expressed a willingness to self-identify as Kazakhstani in many or all situations. It may be that for such people the state-level identity with its group norms of hospitality and friendliness and sense of inclusion in traditions and celebrations provides a more secure and positive social identity than other possible group memberships and they are therefore ready to invoke the state identity in more circumstances. For a minority, though, a Kazakhstani identity is either implicitly or explicitly rejected. For these participants other group

memberships are more salient and valued in all social contexts such that state level group membership is not deemed to be a relevant or acknowledged self-category.

4.2.5 State Identity: ‘Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?’

A later question also aimed to explore the relevance and importance of a state level identity to the students and teachers in Shymkent. This question made the context of international comparison explicit, asking: ‘Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?’ It was thus intended that participants compare citizens of Kazakhstan with those of other states and give an opinion as to whether or not there was any sense of a cohesive Kazakhstani identity uniting its people and distinguishing them from those belonging to other states. As can be seen from Table 4.5 below a large majority of participants did recognise this kind of group unity. However, it is also clear that a number of respondents rejected the relevance of this level of group cohesion and oriented instead to ethnic or individual level identities.

Table 4.5: Responses to the Question ‘Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?’

Answer	No. of Responses
Yes, there is something uniting them	54 (75%)
No, ethnic groups differ	2 (3%)
Understand question as relating to Kazakhs	12 (17%)
No, people are individuals	1 (1%)
No	3 (4%)

Number of respondents = 72

It was shown above that many participants consider the traits of hospitality, friendliness and inclusion to be defining characteristics for Kazakhstanis and that participation in marking certain celebrations and traditions was also deemed to be an important aspect of group membership. These same aspects were often mentioned as examples of factors differentiating Kazakhstan from other countries.

4:62 “I think that I told you that our quality is hospitality, it really unites all nationalities, all ethnics, ‘cos I was in Russia uh, last year and there Russian people they are not so hospitable, they are not so open, ‘cos our people open-hearted. So even our, I compared our Russian, Russian people and in people of Russia so they are different, they are different.”

4:63 “Probably the fact that all nations, we all live in Kazakhstan, we are no longer marked by ethnic nationality but by our state, that we are all Kazakhstanis and as I said all the traditions and national celebrations are marked by any nationalities.”†

The importance of these points is stressed by the latter two respondents through the way in which they draw attention to the fact that they have mentioned these traits before; (4:62) “I think I told you that...”, (4:63) “...as I said...”. The centrality of these traits to a Kazakhstani identity is highlighted by the fact they are mentioned by so many participants and are mentioned more than once by individual interviewees.

When questioned as to which celebrations were marked by all ethnic groups in this way, respondents generally referred to the two popular New Year festivals (Kazakh New Year, Nauriz, is celebrated in March), although one interviewee did also mention some republic oriented occasions.

4:67 “Yes, they are different because we have a, every country has their own traditions and we can divide them by their traditions.”
“New Year (Nauriz), and uh, and uh, Constitution day, Constitution day, Republic day, Independence Day I mean.”†

Whilst the interviewees quoted above focus on outward traditions and the defining characteristic of hospitality, other participants felt some kind of Kazakhstani mentality or perspective, perhaps born out of common fate, to be the factor uniting all citizens and defining the group (see chapter 5 for more on this).

4:69 “Well I think that yes, every country has its own mentality, its own understanding of life, each one has that, its own point of view.”

4:70 “Um, we are a sort of, in the middle of Europe and Asia, not just geographically but in our mentality now. It’s like, and actually it’s one of the things our government is seeking. It’s a sort of mentality of someone who is Asian but European at the same time. So I think this makes us different to other people. Yeah, we are kind of, we have this ancient kind of traditions of Asia, Asian, you know people, but at same time our present and future are more into Europe, you know, I mean, West, Western culture. So it’s a funny mixture, mixture of Asian and Western culture.”†

It is clear that a large number of participants are ready to self-categorise at the state level of inclusiveness and are able to identify, enact and defend group norms and stereotypes in order to protect the group status from outgroup derogation and preserve a positive sense of group distinctiveness at this level. Table 4.5 shows though, that for a quarter of interviewees this was not the case, and that for 20% of respondents an ethnic level identity was more salient and valid in this context. Thus a significant number of participants interpreted the question as relating only to ethnic Kazakhs, in a manner reminiscent of similar responses to the first question of the interview ('How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?') whilst two participants stated that there was no difference between the people of Kazakhstan and other countries because the differences existed at the ethnic level. For one such interviewee, a teacher at the Kazakh Turkish University, the group characteristic of a defining mentality is perceived as existing at the ethnic rather than the state level.

4:72 "Hmm, they are different, they have their own mentality, for example, I have my own opinions, Russian people have their own, Uzbek also."

One of the teachers at the Language Academy, a Tatar, understood the question as relating solely to the Kazakhs of the country and persisted in this understanding despite several attempts to rephrase the question to make the intended state level of comparison clear.

4:73 "*Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?*"
 "The Kazakh people at one point were very different from other nations because they were nomads, nomads..."
"Is there something that unites all the different population of Kazakhstan?"
 "Two ideas unite it. The first idea is that of freedom, independence, that unites. And the second idea is linguistic, linguistic. Kazakhs want to preserve their language..."
"What unites the nations, the ethnic groups in Kazakhstan?"
 "Well at present it seems to me that two main things unite the Kazakhs..."

For this participant then, ethnic identity is clearly uppermost and he seems to have no concept of a state category separate from the idea of a Kazakh nation state. He repeatedly orients to an ethnic Kazakh group category despite the explicit references made to the heterogeneity of Kazakhstan's population in subsequent re-phrasings of the question. This illustrates how the overwhelming salience of one category means

that the participant interacts and responds in terms of this category and this category alone.

Summary

For each of the categories discussed above which contain a sufficient number of responses to make analysis possible, the distribution of responses by ethnic group quite closely matches that of the overall distribution of participants by ethnic group.

For three quarters of the interviewees responding to the question, ‘Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries’ a strong sense of state level categorisation with related group level norms and responses was evident. These participants readily self-categorised as members of the group ‘citizen of Kazakhstan’ and responded according to that categorisation. For the remaining 25% of participants this was not a salient social identity and they responded by arguing that the differences between members of the potential ingroup (the state) were no smaller than those between in- and outgroup members so that the group category was not a valid one. For most of these participants it was only possible and relevant to stereotype at the level of ethnic identity.

4.2.6 Levels of Identity: Summary

The interview questions discussed above explored the importance and relevance of certain social identities operating at different levels of inclusiveness for the students and teachers participating in the research. The importance of context is made apparent by the fact that a given interviewee may relate and respond to one question in terms of an individual level identity because that is the identity level most salient to her in that context, but to another question at the state level for the same reason. Identity is not static or fixed, it is highly dependent on the social context, which thus plays a pivotal role in determining the attitudes and behaviour displayed by an individual in interaction with others. If the context highlights personal level identity for that participant then it is in terms of individual attributes and actions that she will respond, whereas if a more inclusive group level membership is made salient she will

respond and interact according to the relevant norms for that group. That such group memberships are frequently relevant and self-defining is clear from the number of responses given in terms of ethnic and state identities. Members of ethnic groups experience emotions such as pride, pleasure or insecurity as a consequence of their identity as group members and can also be seen to promote and enact valued group norms and to defend both the status and legitimacy of the group when they are perceived to be under threat. Many participants are willing to self-identify as Kazakhstanis and are able to describe important character traits and behaviours which function as group norms for this social identity. However, most often day to day interactions do not make the international social context necessary to invoke this identity sufficiently salient, and interactions are thus more likely to occur in terms of a social identity at a lower level of inclusiveness such as ethnicity.

It has been demonstrated that according to context personal, ethnic and state level identities are relevant and value-laden for the research participants. Some defining attributes of these identities have been mentioned and explored to a certain extent. However, various questions included in the interview were intended to probe the content and definition of these identities further.

4.3 Content of Identities

4.3.1 State Identity

‘How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?’

The issues associated with the analysis of answers to this question were discussed in section 4.2.1. As Table 4.1 (page 77) displays, many participants responded to this question in terms of a personal level identity or ethnic group membership.

Interviewees who gave responses in these categories are excluded from the table below which only pertains to those interviewees who gave answers indicating a response in terms of a state level identity. There were 14 such participants and their responses are summarised in Table 4.6 below. In this table only attributes mentioned by more than one participant are included.

Table 4.6: ‘How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?’: Attributes Cited by Participants Orienting to a State Level Identity.

Answer	No. of Respondents
Hospitable	6
Friendly, helpful	6
Open, welcoming	4
Value education	2
Happy	2
Polite	2
Multi-national	4
Depends on ethnic group	2
All other responses	7

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 14

It is noticeable from this table that several of the attributes ascribed to the people of Kazakhstan; hospitality, friendliness, openness and being polite are those primarily associated with ethnic Kazakhs. This becomes apparent when Table 4.6 above is compared with Table 4.7 below, showing the responses given by the 15 participants orienting to an explicitly ethnic Kazakh understanding and description of the people of Kazakhstan (once again only those descriptions mentioned by more than one interviewee have been included).

Table 4.7: ‘How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?’: Attributes Cited by Participants Orienting to an Ethnic Kazakh Level Identity.

Answer	No. of Respondents
Hospitable	10
Friendly, helpful	4
Open, welcoming	6
Polite	5
Good	2
Lazy	2
Proud to be Kazakh	2
All other responses	7

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 15

As discussed above, the usual explanation for this overlap is that these characteristics have spread from the autochthonous population and have been embraced and taken on by the many other peoples also living within the territory of Kazakhstan. Thus, some of the most important group norms for Kazakhs are also the most commonly mentioned attributes of the population of Kazakhstan as a whole by those for whom a state identity is salient.

4:74 “The population of Kazakhstan, I can describe that they are, more... polite, ...hospitable and open.”†

‘Are People from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?’

As well as showing a strong correlation between the group norms associated with Kazakh identity and those associated with a Kazakhstani identity the responses given to the first question of the interview reveal a distinct set of characteristics repeatedly used to define citizens of Kazakhstan. In order to further ascertain what level of agreement exists between participants as to these characteristics we can compare the results in table 4.6 with those of table 4.8 below. This table shows the categories of responses given to the question, ‘Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?’ Only the responses given by those seen to be answering in terms of a state level identity (see table 4.5 above) are included here and only descriptions used by more than 1 participant are listed.

Table 4.8: ‘Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?’: Responses from Participants Orienting to the State Level.

Answer	No. of Respondents
Traditions, customs	20
Culture, way of life	12
Helpful, kind, friendly, sociable	12
Language, communication	11
Hospitable	9
Mentality	7
Laws of Kazakhstan	7
Character	6
Religion	3
Abilities	3
Yes	3
Peaceful relations between people	3
Priorities/aims	2
Appearance	2
Behaviour	2
Economic development	2
All other responses	3

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 54

It is noticeable that this question elicited a broader range of characteristics defining Kazakhstan’s population than the earlier question (see table 4.6). Although the attributes of ‘hospitality’ and of ‘friendliness’ or ‘helpfulness’ feature here they are

not mentioned as often in this context as ‘traditions’ or ‘customs’ and ‘culture’ or ‘way of life’

A possible explanation for the greater range of responses in answer to the later question and the frequency with which traditions and culture were mentioned as distinguishing features is that whilst hospitality and friendliness are seen as descriptive of the people of Kazakhstan (question 1), these attributes do not necessarily distinguish Kazakhstanis from members of other states to the extent that certain traditions and aspects of the way of life in Kazakhstan are perceived as doing. Although Kazakhstanis may be described as being *more* hospitable and friendly than their Russian and Central Asian neighbours these are attributes that are also relevant and valued in the neighbouring republics. The proximity and sense of common history with Uzbekistan make it particularly salient for comparison in this context. It may be that due to their historical and cultural similarities the Central Asian states compete for positive social identity in these terms and that these similarities may threaten distinctiveness so that other distinguishing features such as particular traditions and aspects of culture are reified as defining characteristics of a Kazakhstani identity. The sense of competition between Kazakhstan and its neighbours in terms of the values of hospitality and friendliness are illustrated by many responses to this question. Some examples are given below.

4:76 “Kazakhstanis are more polite, more kind than Uzbeks... Our Kazakhstan is I think very friendly people...”

4:77 “...I was in Russia er, last year and there Russian people they are not so hospitable, they are not so open ‘cos our people open-hearted.”†

It is probable then that whilst the group norms of hospitality, openness and friendliness are valued as such, the fact that they are also relevant features of other states means that they are not felt to be secure as characteristics which distinguish the Kazakhstani ingroup from potentially similar outgroup members of neighbouring states. Thus participants such as those quoted above stress the greater friendliness and hospitality of the ingroup and many also mention traditions and culture as being aspects that distinguish the people of Kazakhstan from those of other states

completely and not just comparatively. Whilst few participants added further comment as to what these distinguishing features or traditions were, it is evident that some participants mean to indicate the very multicultural nature of Kazakhstan whereby the customs and traditions of many ethnic groups exist side by side and are accepted by all. This variety could itself then distinguish Kazakhstan from its more mono-ethnic and mono-cultural neighbours.

4:79 “There is probably no other country which is so multinational. Here people are used to living together somehow...probably in this is the difference...”

4:80 “...here when the person came from Russia or from China, Korea it doesn’t matter. I have group mates and absolutely all of them were not Kazakh and they were Azerbaijan, Uzbek, um Ukrainian and many nationalities, I have never thought of their nationality, it’s even interesting to know his traditions, for example, to know how they for example, celebrate the wedding party or something like this.”†

From these responses it would appear that tolerance and peaceful inter-ethnic relations are norms for the group identity ‘Kazakhstani’. Citizens of the republic find a positive and distinct social identity in their citizenship defined by these attributes. Although the multi-ethnic nature of Kazakhstan makes it hard to find many attributes or features of culture that all ethnic groups share, and many of those that all groups do have in common are also relevant as characteristics of certain outgroups, the fact of Kazakhstan’s multi-ethnicity acts in itself as a defining characteristic of the group.

The fact that it is challenging to identify many traditions or cultural traits definitive of Kazakhstani identity is also borne out by the relatively high number of participants mentioning the fact that citizens of Kazakhstan had adherence to the republic’s laws as a common trait. This defines the ingroup in administrative, civil terms such that innate similarities between group members are not assumed. Participants for whom the differences between ethnic groups are salient may orient to this as a group definition which enables them to preserve an acceptably distinctive and cohesive social identity at the state level despite these manifest differences.

4:83 “Yes, people who live in Kazakhstan they follow the laws of Kazakhstan.”†

It may be that a similar perspective is taken by those participants who mentioned language as a factor uniting Kazakhstanis in contrast to other nations. It cannot be convincingly argued that the Russian language is a uniting factor as, although it does serve as the principle language of communication for many ethnic groups and as the language of inter-ethnic communication, there are an increasing number of Kazakhs who do not speak it. Moreover, the use of Russian as a lingua franca would not clearly distinguish Kazakhstan from neighbouring countries. What participants must mean then is that all Kazakhstanis have a common state language, Kazakh. There are still a large number of citizens who are unable to speak Kazakh or unable to do so with any degree of fluency in formal registers (see chapter 6 for the interviewees' language repertoires), however, it is true that Kazakhstanis are united in being subject to the law on languages which names Kazakh as the state language. Although some citizens may find this threatening (see for example quote 4:23) it is a distinctive and defining factor of identity at the state level.

Whilst this argument applies for those participants indicating language as a uniting factor it is possible that references to 'communication' or 'way of speaking' may more properly be categorised with references to 'friendliness' or 'politeness' as it seems to be communicative norms that some participants at least have in mind in this context.

4:85 "In behaviour, in the way of speaking yes. Here we are, I think we are more polite."

4:86 "Yes. I don't know how to explain but there is a difference, in the communication between them."

Summary

Participants' answers to the question 'Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?' reveal a range of defining characteristics for a Kazakhstani social identity. Some of these are valued group norms but there is a sense of competition to enact them not only within the ingroup but between the ingroup and certain relevant outgroups, namely Russia and the neighbouring states of

Central Asia. For this reason other characteristics may be seen as more securely distinctive, particularly those civil and administrative aspects which necessarily relate only to citizens of Kazakhstan as a group.

‘What makes you proud to be Kazakhstani?’

Another interview question which explores the content of a Kazakhstani identity is, ‘What makes you proud to be Kazakhstani?’ This question clearly directs participants to consider the positive aspects of their state level identity. Replies were wide ranging but a variety of responses were mentioned with some frequency. Table 4.9 below shows those features which were mentioned by more than 1 participant.

Table 4.9: Responses to the Question ‘What makes you proud to be Kazakhstani?’

Answer	No. of Respondents
Development, economy, status	23
Independence, democracy	17
Kazakhstan, land, homeland	15
Size of territory	10
Multi-ethnic, inter-ethnic relations	9
President, government	9
Resources	7
Landscape, nature, climate	6
People	4
Hospitality of people	3
Ancestors/history	2
Language	2
Not proud/nothing	2
All other responses	8

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 66

It is noticeable that this question seems to elicit a different set of responses in terms of the positive content of a Kazakhstani identity. Also, a notable feature of responses to this question is a strong orientation to factors relating to a civil identity rather than an ethnic one. Most of the categories in table 4.9 relate explicitly to Kazakhstan as a political or geographical entity rather than human characteristics or attributes. Of the categories that do relate to the citizens themselves, one ‘the people’ is somewhat all-encompassing and ill defined and another ‘multi-ethnicity’ or ‘inter-ethnic relations’ relates to the discussion above of the challenge of finding attributes that both unite and define Kazakhstanis.

The most frequently cited source of pride for Kazakhstanis relates to the progress Kazakhstan has made economically and developmentally since independence (on this theme see also sections 5.5 and 7.5). Moreover, the ethnic distribution of participants giving responses in this category closely matches the overall ethnic distribution of interviewees. All citizens of Kazakhstan, regardless of ethnic background experienced the same economic hardships in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's dissolution. All groups too have had to work for economic survival at a personal as well as at a republic level. This seems to have resulted in a strong sense of shared experience and common fate. Kazakhstan has developed and strengthened significantly in economic terms, particularly in relation to several of its Central Asian neighbours. Because of this fact Kazakhstanis can positively differentiate themselves from citizens of the other republics by referring to Kazakhstan's economic status and prospects.

4:87 "I am glad that my country, in comparison with all the Asian countries is more advanced in economic development and culture and that makes me proud."

4:88 "In the period of the Soviet Union the Kazakhstan was at the very low level among the Soviet countries but at the present time, yes, naturally it's a developing country but the economical level is higher than the other post-Soviet countries."†

Good economic development is perceived by a relatively large number of participants as being a positive aspect of Kazakhstani identity. It is one which is valued by and affects all ethnic groups, all too can feel a sense of involvement in this aspect of their social identity as they participate in the labour market and experience the benefits of the republic's improving economic climate. The question of ethnic discrimination in employment is beyond the scope of this study but whether or not this is a factor, a better economic climate than pertained immediately following independence is beneficial to all.

The fact that Kazakhstan is now independent is also something that involves and affects all ethnic groups. However, not all ethnic groups have experienced the changes in Kazakhstan as a result of independence in the same way. The sense of

confusion and insecurity experienced by many ethnic Russians has been discussed above. It is not surprising then that whilst the proportion of responses in this category given by Kazakhs closely matches the proportion of Kazakhs overall, the proportion of responses in this category given by Russians is very low; just one Russian interviewee gave an answer in this category (6%), whereas Russian participants represent 22% of interviewees overall. Of the participants from other ethnic groups giving answers in this category 4 of the 5 are Uzbek (100% of the Uzbek participants) whilst the other is Ukrainian. It seems then that independence is most positively experienced as a characteristic of social identity by the autochthonous Central Asian peoples.

4:91 "...I'm proud of my nation, in general, that it exists."

4:92 "...I have my own country, my own land, I have a president who watches and rules our country... we have freedom, I can do everything what I want."

Similarly, only one ethnic Russian expressed pride in the president or government of Kazakhstan with most of the responses in this category (7 of 9) coming from Kazakhs.

4:93 "...we have a very good and very clever president. We are waiting from future very good things."

In contrast, pride in the land of Kazakhstan, in Kazakhstan as a homeland (as distinct from Kazakhstan as a political republic), seems to be something experienced by similar proportions of representatives of all ethnic groups. Whilst Russians may find the fact of a sovereign and politically independent Kazakhstan problematic they are still able to relate to it as a land in which they can take pride or as their homeland.

4:94 "I live here, I should like, it's my country and... I can't live here without being proud of it."

Taking pride in Kazakhstan in this way unites Russians with members of other ethnic groups as illustrated by the comments below made by a Ukrainian and by Kazakh students.

4:95 “Just because I live here...”

4:96 “Because um, because I live in Kazakhstan, I’m, I’m very gl, glad and um, ‘East or West, home is best’. Like the place where you was born is the most.”

4:97 “That I live in this country, it’s my native land.”

Similarly, pride in the natural beauty of Kazakhstan, its landscape and climate are also mentioned by both Russians and Kazakhs.

Pride in Kazakhstan as a homeland is something which clearly defines in- from outgroup members, whilst it is not ethnically distinctive, by definition it marks out those who identify with Kazakhstan and find a social identity as a person rooted in that place. As was discussed above, such an identity can be positive and secure in relation to outgroups because it does not relate to characteristics shared by people of other countries. The same cannot necessarily be said of taking pride in Kazakhstan for the wealth of its natural resources. However, although other states possess natural resources, Kazakhstanis may feel that the outcome of any comparison of wealth of these resources made with the republic’s Central Asian neighbours would be favourable for Kazakhstan and that therefore this is a secure and valued aspect of a Kazakhstani identity.

This comparative dimension is also relevant in relation to those participants describing the size of Kazakhstan as a source of pride. It is interesting that of the 10 responses in this category 9 are given by Kazakhs and just one by a Russian. It may therefore be the case that for ethnic Russians, comparisons with the Russian Federation are relevant and hence any comparison on this dimension would not be a positive one for Kazakhstan. However, for Kazakhs, comparison with other Central Asian republics is more salient, in which context a comparison of territory size provides a positive outcome for Kazakhstan.

Summary

From the responses to this question it can be seen that whilst Kazakhstani citizens' conceptions of the most important and positive aspects of their state identity vary, broad patterns of agreement do emerge. In particular many citizens find a positive social identity through the physical and political presence of the republic and through its achievements and resources in comparison with relevant outgroups.

'What makes you ashamed to be Kazakhstani?'

As discussed above, Kazakhstanis find a variety of sources for positive ingroup identity. That this state level identity is primarily positively defined and experienced is revealed by the responses to the question, 'What makes you ashamed to be Kazakhstani?' A substantial majority of interviewees answering this question (47 out of 64, or 73%) said that 'nothing' made them ashamed of their state identity. Only three sources of shame were mentioned by more than one participant, these were: corruption and injustice (5 mentions), the poor health and education systems (3 mentions) and the existence of racial discrimination (2 mentions). Each of these can be seen as threatening to a positive state level identity in that they are opposite to the explicitly valued group norms of good government, state progress and prosperity and inter-ethnic harmony revealed in many answers to the previous question. They cause shame for these participants not merely because they are negative characteristics but because they call into question the validity of established group norms and hence challenge a securely positive state level group identity.

Summary

The comments made by interviewees in response to the questions discussed above reveal that although Kazakhstan is still young as an independent republic and the parameters and norms of group belonging are still to some extent under negotiation there is a significant degree of focus upon a set of positive and distinctive group norms. The characteristics of hospitality, friendliness and openness are valued and ingroup members compare themselves favourably with outgroups along these dimensions. Kazakhstan is also seen to be at a comparative advantage over its neighbours in terms of economic development and possession of natural resources,

so these too are sources of self-esteem. In contrast, other features, such as certain traditions and customs and the multicultural nature of Kazakhstan are frequently cited as distinctive and defining aspects of the state identity not shared by other states. Overall there is a definite sense of agreement as to the positive value and defining characteristics of Kazakhstani identity today.

4.3.2 Ethnic Identity

‘What makes you Kazakh/ Russian ...?’

As well as investigating the content of a state level Kazakhstani identity, it was also an aim of the interview to explore the nature of ethnic level identity for the participants. The question, ‘What makes you Kazakh/ Russian...?’ explicitly probed interviewees’ understanding of the definition of their own ethnicity. Many participants gave answers which included several defining features so the number of responses and the number of categories of responses to this question is high. Table 4.10 below, shows categories mentioned by 1 or more participant.

Table 4.10: Responses to the Question ‘What makes you Kazakh/Russian...?’

Answer	No. of Respondents
Parents, grandparents	37
Language	36
Customs, traditions	23
Culture, behaviour	20
Land, live in Kazakhstan	12
Blood, birth	11
Character, mentality	10
Religion	9
Appearance	9
Place of birth	6
Passport	4
Ancestors	3
Heart/soul	3
Friends	2
All other responses	4

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 81

It is clear from this table that many of the interviewees view ethnicity as being something innate and largely primordial, passed down by birth through the generations. This is true of participants from all ethnic groups; the distribution of

participants making responses in the ‘parents, grandparents’ and ‘blood, birth’ categories according to ethnic self-identification broadly matches the overall distribution of interviewees in these terms.

4:98 “My father, mother, all of them Kazakh, it makes me Kazakh and all the abilities of Kazakhs are in my blood.”

4:99 “My dad is Russian, my mum is Russian, my grandmother...”

4:100 “Just the title of my nationality.”

- “*Where does that title come from?*”

“...From my parents, from my grandparents who came here.” †

This last quote from a Ukrainian student illustrates the primacy of parentage for many interviewees in terms of deciding ethnic group membership. For this student her status as Ukrainian is a title determined by her parents and grandparents so that group membership remains valid despite her own distance from or lack of all other markers of group belonging.

A similarly unidimensional approach to ethnicity is expressed by a Kazakh pupil.

4:102 “Just that my parents are Kazakhs.”

A phenotypical conception of ethnicity is also expressed by those participants who asserted that their appearance was part of what made them Russian or Kazakh. Skin colour and eyes are both mentioned repeatedly in this context which reveals that it is a Central Asian versus European ethnic contrast that is most salient.

4:103 “My customs, my language, the colour of my skin, my eyes.”

4:104 “Probably first of all the colour of my skin...”†

In contrast, other participants make a distinction between ethnic identity as a label, as it might be in a passport, and ethnic identity as something experienced and lived out.

4:106 “Well I am Uyghur but... I know nothing about my culture, well I can’t say I know nothing about my culture, I know what um, as you know Uyghur people don’t have their own country they live in Chinese, in China, but I live in Kazakhstan for 12 years I think and I really feel myself Kazakh.”

4:107 “I live in Kazakhstan and, uh my, my parents are Kazakh.
- “*But a Russian person could live in Kazakhstan and that wouldn’t make them Kazakh would it?*”

“...they’re not Kazakhs but they’re counted as Kazakhs because they live in Kazakhstan and because they live in Kazakhstan... and our Russians say they went there to Russia and there they said that Russians who live in Kazakhstan are considered to be Kazakhs.”

4:108 “I am Uzbek, but actually I am a mixture of Uzbek and Tatar, but according to the passport I am Uzbek... Because sometime um, it’s like OK patrilineal yeah, yes, my grandfathers are Uzbek and my grandmothers are Tatar, both of them, yep, so 50, 50 I would say...to be honest too, till the age 10 probably I didn’t know any Uzbek but I was still Uzbek, maybe traditions...”

For these participants ethnicity as a meaningful group membership is something tied up with socialisation processes and context rather than being biologically determined, hence the difference between “our” Russians and those in Russia as perceived by the student quoted above (4:107). According to these interviewees descent is important and determines the ethnic label ascribed to an individual but at the same time, experientially that person may value a different group membership or even multiple group memberships.

The student quoted above rejects language as a necessary feature for ethnic belonging stating that she was Uzbek because of following traditions despite not knowing the language. For many of the interviewees though, language was cited as a defining feature of their ethnic identity. However, whilst similar proportions of Russians and Kazakhs mentioned language in this context only 2 members of other ethnic groups did so (5% of responses). Many members of ethnic minorities in Kazakhstan do not speak their titular language, functioning instead in Russian or Kazakh. It is likely then that for most members of these groups, language is not considered to be a necessary or defining feature of group belonging whereas for Kazakhs and Russians whose group languages enjoy wider use and status, language is more salient as a group characteristic. A relatively large number of Russians

mentioned language as being part of what made them Russian which may be because the vast majority of Russians in urban areas speak only that language. It is perhaps more surprising that so many Kazakhs also mentioned language as a defining feature despite the fact that there are still relatively large numbers of Kazakhs who do not speak the language fluently. However, all of those Kazakhs mentioning language in answer to this question also describe themselves as Kazakh speakers.

4:109 “Because I speak Kazakh language...”†

For one of the teachers interviewed, knowledge of Kazakh was something her parents considered to be a vital part of her ethnic identity despite the need for a good knowledge of Russian for instrumental purposes. The value attributed to Kazakh in this way is something she herself accepts and considers to be an important part of group belonging.

4:112 “I don’t know. Probably the language. Because earlier for us it was important to know the Russian language and I was born in a Kazakh family, my parents are Kazakh and the importance of the language was that all my older brothers and sisters studied in a Kazakh school but in order to have an education Russian played an important role and I was the first in the family to go to a Russian class and on the whole I grew up in a, well I had a Russian-language upbringing but my dad always said to me, ‘At home you must always speak Kazakh, but there you can speak Russian, so that you will always know your native language.’ but nonetheless I am very ashamed that I don’t know my language very deeply because I’m used to putting my thoughts and everything in the Russian language... but I’m very thankful that circumstances have turned out such that I now teach Kazakh and I’m glad that I know my language.”

Although this teacher, and indeed many of the participants who mentioned language in their answer to this question, place a high value on language as a part of their ethnicity it is not the sole determinant of this identity and operates in conjunction with other group characteristics and norms. This is apparent in the answers given by the Russians quoted below.

4:113 “What makes me Russian? First language, appearance, my yes, my behaviour maybe, and my traditions, my way of speaking yeah... maybe my way of thinking.”

4:114 “I’m Russian because I was born of Russian people, Russian because I... confess Russian culture... and love the Russian language, I love to write poetry and prose in the Russian language.”

Alongside language these participants mention culture or behaviour as an important aspect of their social identity. As indicated above slightly higher proportions of Russian and Kazakh interviewees than are represented in the interview sample overall mentioned language as a defining feature of ethnicity. Similarly, the distribution of respondents speaking about culture or behaviour shows a slight bias in representation of Kazakhs and Russians but no representation at all of other ethnic groups. The explanation for this pattern is likely to be the same as for language; many members of ethnic minorities in Kazakhstan, particularly those of groups not native to Central Asia, are assimilated linguistically and behaviourally/culturally to the Russian language and culture. Similarly Central Asian minority group members often assimilate Kazakh language and culture. Thus only Russians and Kazakhs feel that their culture or behaviour are diagnostic for ethnic group membership.

4:115 “My religion, my culture, my customs, like upbringing. Because actually, even we have different, a lot of nationalities, maybe you’ve noticed and Kazakh families, like upbringing is different than Russian the little bit.”

4:116 “My country I think first of all yeah and in uh, in my family we, my parents keep the rules of our culture.”†

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that family plays a very important role in establishing the nature and understanding of ethnic social identity. For many participants biological descent is the main factor in determining their ethnicity, but more than that it is the atmosphere and conduct of the home and the language and social or behavioural values established as norms by the parents that determine their children’s experience of ethnic group belonging. Thus, alongside culture and behaviour, many participants mention that following customs and traditions is an important feature of group membership. Interestingly, in contrast to ‘culture’ or ‘behaviour’, customs and traditions are also seen as ethnically diagnostic by members of Kazakhstan’s minorities. This may be an indication that despite the loss of language and most aspects of culture minority group members do still recognise or

adhere to certain visible group traditions or customs. For minority group members, in the absence of other ethnic markers, following group traditions is the only or main group attribute they mention.

4:118 “I know my traditions, the traditions of the Uzbek people.”

4:119 “Some family traditions and honestly speaking I don’t know my native language... traditions on the whole, celebrations.”

For Russians and Kazakhs though, customs and traditions are more likely to be listed alongside other factors.

4:120 “I speak Russian, I’m um, I keep some Russian traditions and uh I’m a... Christian.”

4:121 “Traditions, culture, language. Mainly traditions.”†

However, for older Kazakhs, brought up and educated during the Soviet Union in a largely Russian linguistic and cultural setting, the traditions and atmosphere of the home were particularly important in establishing a distinct sense of identity much as they are today for members of minority groups.

4:123 “It’s not language! ‘Cos I don’t speak much Kazakh, actually I don’t speak at all, almost at all. Um, it’s the, it’s the traditions, the way I’ve been brought up in my family, it uh, yeah, it’s mainly to do with the traditions and family life. Yeah, actually family is one of the things I can say about Kazakhs, they all value family.”

A number of participants express a belief that ethnic group membership is marked by particular character traits or a particular mentality. Some of the characteristics mentioned in answer to previous questions as descriptive of an ethnic group are here referred to as being diagnostic or constitutive of that group membership. The qualities of openness and tolerance are mentioned in particular in relation to Kazakhs whereas the Russian participants largely cite their way of thinking or mentality as being distinct from that of other groups.

4:124 “For me, Russian, mmm. I was born in Russia and some um, the culture, the, my language, the way of thinking yes, it’s Russian. It’s different from my, the way of thinking of my husband [an Uzbek] yeah.”

4:125 “...features, properties of Kazakh. Open-hearted, ability to absorb positive things that come from abroad.”

One Kazakh participant, a teacher, explains that in her opinion the common history of Russians and Kazakhs in Kazakhstan during the Soviet Union led to a significant degree of merging of Russian and Kazakh mentality and culture but that certain characteristics nevertheless remain as group markers.

4: 127 “You see I am, I was born in the Soviet Union you see and uh, for me uh, I’m bred on the mixture of Kazakh and Russian mentality so I do not feel that I am true Kazakh meaning maybe um, I mean I feel that uh, for me Russian people as well as Kazakh people similar, for me. I do not divide them because we have common, much common or general between two nations, between two mentality and the, we much learnt about them during the Soviet Union, we have a common culture. For this reason I am, I am not really Kazakh I feel um, but I am proud that um, some uh, features of my character truly Kazakh. That is the tolerance maybe, tolerance, um then sincerity maybe uh, and... respect for older people. That is the national character, the national feature and I’m proud that they are seed in me, inside me, in my children um, for these features I am proud that I am Kazakh people.”

Here again is the combined importance of innate characteristics and of family; despite being brought up in a Russified Soviet culture this teacher is proud that she has retained qualities she sees as specifically Kazakh and also that she has been able to pass them on to her children. The importance to Kazakhs of continuity and of links with the past seen here emerge again both below and in the following section. They are also evident in the discussion of national identity in relation to extracts from the media in chapter 7 and are discussed further there.

It was mentioned above in the context of skin colour and eyes that these differences in physical appearance are most salient in distinguishing Central Asian groups from Europeans. The same can be said of religion as a marker of group identity. Several Kazakh and Russian participants suggested that being Muslim and Christian respectively was part of what made them Kazakh or Russian. Interestingly, no minority group members referred to religion in this context and so it may be that

whilst for Kazakhs and Russians distinguishing themselves in relation to each other is most important, minority groups are concerned to distinguish themselves from all other groups and that therefore religious adherence is not a suitably distinctive group norm.

That different markers of ethnicity are considered salient by different groups is also apparent in the fact that only ethnic Kazakhs said that the land itself or living in Kazakhstan was part of what made them who they were. This is a manifestation of a feeling of national ownership and belonging by some Kazakhs in relation to the land. The present day Republic of Kazakhstan is given legitimacy by references to it being the ancient and historic territory of the Kazakh people. Whereas most other ethnic groups present in the republic can be argued, in some sense, to have an alternative homeland this is not the case for Kazakhs who are known as the ‘root’ population. For this reason some Kazakhs see the land itself and their residency there in the present as a link with previous generations and an expression of ethnic continuity valid as a marker of group belonging.

Summary

It is clear from the above discussion that for most participants, ethnic belonging is multidimensional, with biological, social, linguistic and even political factors playing important roles in individuals’ experience and understanding of the nature of their ethnic group membership and how that group membership is defined. It was noted in the context of participants citing aspects of physical appearance or religion as group features that these only really operated to distinguish Central Asian groups from European ones, and in this context in practice, Kazakhs from Russians. It was also apparent that different ethnic groups consider different factors as important in determining their own ethnicity.

‘What makes you proud to be Kazakh?’

In order to further explore participants’ experience of their ethnic group membership the question ‘What makes you proud to be Kazakh, Russian ...?’ was included in the

interview. Answers to this question reveal the dimensions on which participants enjoy a positive social identity; they highlight the norms and characteristics of the group which are most valued by its members. Table 4.11 below shows the responses given by Kazakh interviewees (categories mentioned by 1 or more participant are included).

Table 4.11: Responses to the Question ‘What makes you proud to be Kazakh?’

Answer	No. of Respondents
People, their character	14
Customs, tradition, culture	13
Kazakhstan	13
Language	11
The land, its size/resources	10
Ancestors	9
Parents, relatives	7
Kazakhstan’s independence	7
History	5
Religion	3
Kazakhstan developing	3
Peace	2
Power/influence of Kazakhstan	2
All other responses	3

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 46

Participants show a strong orientation towards social and linguistic characteristics in particular as well as towards the land, the family and a sense of continuity through knowledge of their ancestors. The defining group norms of hospitality, tolerance and openness are also a source of pride for many Kazakhs.

4:128 “That I have such a people - good, that accept other nations to its country.”

4: 129 “...I uh glad that I am a Kazakh because Kazakh people hospitable, friendly and they have a very good tradition.”

It is evident then, that the characteristics mentioned so often as being descriptive of the Kazakh people are a source of positive self-identity, giving value to the individual’s experience of their group membership. Kazakhs see these qualities as descriptive of the ethnic group and thus can identify with the group by both esteeming these qualities and claiming that the ingroup enacts them to a greater extent than other groups.

Aspects of family and social life seen as being definitively Kazakh are valued in the same way. Thus participants feel pride in the Kazakh language as a feature of group belonging and in diverse markers of culture and tradition and required attitudes and behaviour.

4:130 “I was born in, in Kazakhstan and I am Kazakh, it, it proud me and I, I never shamed that I am a Kazakh girl, For example, um to... respect the elderly, never to raise your voice to an elder person, not to your mother or your father, many things like that. I respect these things, these traditions these.”

4:131 “The language is very rich and traditions, customs, traditions, I am proud of these.”

4:132 “I’m proud because Kazakh they try to respect and to OK to let their traditions stay, this is the main why I proud of this.” †

This last quote gives a sense of pride in the continuity and maintenance of cultural norms despite the threat to them from Soviet Russifying culture over so many years. Valuing continuity is also evident in the way Kazakhs express pride in the survival of their language despite the dominance of Russian and, as discussed earlier in the legitimising of Kazakh nationalism through reference to Kazakhs’ uninterrupted residency in the territory (these themes are also pervasive in the media extracts analysed in chapter 7). A further expression of this same value is seen in the way in which Kazakhs place a high value on family connections and respect and revere their ancestors.

4:134 “I’m proud that I’m Kazakh and was born here and my grandfather and great-grandfather were born here in Kazakhstan, I think that every person is proud of his country.”

4:135 “I’m very glad, I’m proud of that I am Kazakh... I know I read a lot of about my history. I know that all our this uh, this ancient people, for example our Kazakh people they fought um becau, um, about our land. They want that, they uh, wanted uh to leave for their... future people, many land. And they fought because of us I think and uh I am proud of that I am Kazakh and that I live and I born as a Kazakh person, and I like it.”

4:136 “That I’m Kazakh. The people, the land, Kazakhstan, my parents, my ancestors.”

Several of the participants including the teacher quoted above (4:135) perceive Kazakhstan’s independence as the final realisation of a long struggle originally engaged in by their ancestors for control of their own territory. This theme also emerges in the media extracts analysed in chapter 7 and is discussed further there. Thus, pride in Kazakhstan and in its independence can also be linked to the value placed upon continuity, upon cultural survival and on the perception of belonging to the land in a more meaningful way than other groups now resident in the republic.†

Summary

It is clear from the contributions of the Kazakh staff and students who were interviewed that they are able to identify and feel pride in defining group norms and experience a secure and positive social identity at ethnic group level through adhering to and valuing these group features. The theme of continuity is of particular importance; Kazakhs value the continued survival of their language, traditions and cultural values despite great social and political changes over time (a theme which emerges more explicitly in the media extracts discussed in chapter 7), they also place great importance upon the perception of their own rootedness and uninterrupted belonging within the borders of Kazakhstan. Therefore Kazakh ethnicity is marked and expressed in numerous ways through values and attitudes available to all Kazakhs regardless of the degree to which they themselves adhere to and experience Kazakh culture and language in their day to day lives.

‘What makes you proud to be Russian?’

It is clear from the above that most Kazakhs enjoy a secure and positive ethnic identity. In order to assess whether this was also true for Russian participants the same question was asked. Table 4.12 below shows the results (categories mentioned by 1 or more participant are listed).

Table 4.12: Responses to the Question ‘What makes you proud to be Russian?’

Answer	No. of Respondents
Nothing	5
Language	4
Russia is large country	3
History	3
Character	3
All other responses	7

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 16

The category here with the highest number of responses is that indicating that nothing makes the participant proud of his or her ethnicity. This suggests that ethnic identity is less securely positive for Russians in Kazakhstan than it is for Kazakhs. Over a quarter (5 out of 18) of the Russian participants felt this way compared to less than two percent of Kazakh participants (1 out of 51). The end of the Soviet Union and the sudden increase in status of Kazakh ethnicity combined with policies of Kazakhification since independence mean that Russians have had to re-evaluate the meaning of their ethnic identity and find new dimensions of comparison through which to achieve a secure and distinctive identity. It seems that this process is still ongoing and that many Russians are as yet insecure in their ethnic identity, unable to identify positive dimensions of that group membership. Of those who do express pride in some aspect of their identity several qualify their statement by asserting that all nationalities can take pride in their identity and that they are not claiming any inherent superiority.

4:140 “Russian, it sounds so proud! But to be honest any nationality can be proud, a Kazakh is also proud to be Kazakh. First of all the Russian language is very rich...”†

As can be seen in table 4.12, and in the quote above, language is the most mentioned source of ethnic pride. Russians understand their language to be an important aspect of their ethnic identity similarly to Kazakhs but whereas Kazakhs take pride in the survival and recent resurgence of their language, Russians feel positively about the world-wide status of Russian and about its cultural and literary richness. In this way a positive aspect of identity is maintained despite the loss of overall status of Russian in contemporary Kazakhstan.

4:142 “I am proud that this language is very widespread not only in Kazakhstan but also in other countries...”

Just as Russians take pride in their language due to its status and history on a broad scale rather than just within Kazakhstan today, so too they find positive dimensions to their ethnic identity in the history of their people group, an area which clearly cannot be threatened by present insecurities. Russians’ lack of status as a group in the Republic of Kazakhstan perhaps also motivates them to look for positive aspects of group identity through their connections with Russia itself and the status and history of that state and of their co-ethnics there.

4:143 “Maybe to, like knowing that Russia, Russia is a great country, has great history and ...I am part of its history.”

4:144 “The history of Russian. Russian people always were brave I think. They always were, were courageous and um kind and helpful...”†

This last quote also illustrates another area in which Russians find a positive sense of identity - the national character. It was discussed above that many Russian participants felt that their ethnic group was distinguished by certain traits or a certain mentality. These distinctive features are themselves interpreted positively and become a source of pride as markers of group belonging.

Summary

For Russians living in Kazakhstan, exemplified by these participants, feeling pride in their ethnicity seems to be more complicated than for Kazakhs. Russians are less willing to express unqualified pride in this social identity and are less clear as to whether the dimensions of that identity are defined in reference to Kazakhstan, to the Russian Federation or both. Their ethnic group has declined in status in Kazakhstan which motivates orientation to co-ethnics in Russia and yet there is a sense of distance from the Russian Federation born out of residence in Central Asia and engagement with its people and culture. Overall it seems that Russian ethnic identity within Kazakhstan is still in transition as members of the group negotiate the orientation and focus of its identity.

‘What makes you proud to be Uzbek, Korean...?’

The same question concerning pride in the ethnic group was put to representatives of Kazakhstan’s minorities. Table 4.13 shows those aspects of identity mentioned by more than one participant.

Table 4.13: Responses to the Question ‘What makes you proud to be Uzbek, Korean...?’

Answer	No. of Respondents
Traditions	4
Minority	2
Nothing	3
All other responses	6

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 11

The numbers involved are obviously too small to draw clear conclusions concerning these interviewees. However, as for Russian participants, a relatively high proportion reported that nothing made them proud of their ethnicity. Many minority group members, particularly those of non-Central Asian origin do not speak their ethnic language, hence language is unlikely to be perceived as an important source of in-group pride. The groups themselves do not enjoy particularly high status and neither do many of them have links with what might be seen as high status historical homelands as ethnic Russians do. Thus, for many minority group members it is their distinctiveness itself which becomes a source of positive self-identity; the surviving traditions and customs which mark them out as different from other groups and their very status as minorities are esteemed. The social identity framework argues that group distinctiveness is important for maintaining a positive social identity, hence belonging to a group clearly identifiable as a minority, for being, therefore, unusual can be a source of positive identity, of pride. This is portrayed in the responses of some members of minority groups who were interviewed.

4:146 “We don’t have a lot of Koreans in Kazakhstan.”

4:147 “Maybe it’s stupid but sometimes I think that Uyghur people are now in very small amount so it’s a little bit different like, for example, you can see Kazakh everywhere, you can see Russian everywhere, but Uyghur are counted people.”†

In this way minorities are able to enjoy a positive social identity as a result of rather than despite their numerical inferiority.

‘What makes you ashamed to be Kazakh, Russian, Uzbek...?’

That on the whole members of all Kazakhstan’s ethnic groups experience a relatively secure positive ethnic identity is shown by the high percentage of each group stating that nothing made them ashamed of their ethnicity (or at least being unwilling to admit any sources of shame to an outgroup member): 71% of Kazakhs, 73% of Russians and 86% of minority group members. Participants who did mention things which made them feel ashamed of their group largely cited negative behaviour and attitudes in other group members which they felt reflected badly on the group as a whole; racism was mentioned by both Kazakh and Russian participants in this context and dishonesty was cited by a minority group member.

Interestingly, several Kazakh participants described the loss of their language and culture as a source of shame, probably because such loss is in contravention of the valued group norms of continuity and cultural survival mentioned so often as part of Kazakh identity (see chapter 7 for more on this theme).

Summary

The discussions above show how the various ethnic groups who share life in Kazakhstan have developed or are developing strategies for establishing and maintaining positive and distinctive ethnic identities. As suggested in literature of the social identity framework discussed in chapter 1, group members are constrained by reality in their efforts at identity construction, hence Russians are re-evaluating their group level experience of identity in light of the changes to that group’s status and likewise minority group members do not frequently cite language or culture as being principal components of their ethnicity. Participants of all groups refer to a wide

range of factors as being part of their group identity showing that the experience of ethnicity is multi-faceted and may be re-defined according to context. Respondents described ethnicity both as an official label and as a vital part of an individual's social existence with the traditions and values of the family and home playing a major role in defining the parameters of that identity.

4.3.3 The Importance of Language

As discussed above, many interviewees, particularly Russians and Kazakhs, mentioned language as an important aspect of their ethnicity; as part of what made them a member of that group or as an aspect of that identity in which they felt pride (section 4.3.2). In order to further explore the role of languages within individuals' experiences and understanding of ethnic belonging specific questions about language were asked.

'How important is the Kazakh language to being Kazakh?'

Representatives of all ethnic groups were asked, 'How important is the Kazakh language to being Kazakh?' However, in order to focus on Kazakhs' own understanding of their group identity, table 4.14 below, only shows the distribution of answers given by Kazakh participants.

Table 4.14: Responses to the Question 'How important is the Kazakh language to being Kazakh?' (Kazakh Respondents)

Answer	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents Mentioning
Important, should speak it	17	40
Part of identity, culture	16	37
State language	10	23
Native language	7	16
To get a job, for documents	5	12
Russian is also important	5	12
Individuals have different opinions	2	5

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 43

As might be expected a high proportion of the respondents expressed the view that Kazakh was of significant intrinsic importance to their ethnic identity, either simply underlining its importance and the need to know it or describing it as part of the

Kazakh identity itself. The Kazakh language has survived alongside the people and the two go together. For these participants, speaking Kazakh is an important mark of loyalty to and respect for their ethnic identity and not to do so leaves that identity incomplete, thus an important part of identity maintenance is language use and promotion.

4:149 “I think it’s the first and foremost thing for being Kazakh.”

4:150 “To be a Kazakh you must know Kazakh language, it’s the first criteria to be a Kazakh and know the traditions, customs and so on.”

4:151 “I think it’s very important to know and to speak Kazakh because uh, it’s the first thing that shows your nationality and also your um, patriotism and your respect to your nationality, to your language, to your culture.”†

These comments show how highly many Kazakhs value the language as a marker of group identity. A number of the interviewees cited above describe language as being the ‘first’ indication of group belonging and all express the belief that the experience of group membership is not complete without knowledge of the language. A number of other participants similarly note the strong link between language and group by describing the language as important because it is the Kazakhs’ native language. This link between a member of the group and the language is thus seen as something almost biological; the language is viewed as a birthright, and belongs to members of the group.

4:154 “It’s the own language of Kazakh and he must speak in Kazakh language if he is Kazakh, he must know his mother language.”†

It is clear from this selection of responses that a high proportion of Kazakhs understand the Kazakh language as being an important, if not necessary, constituent of ethnic Kazakh identity, a vital aspect of the group which must therefore be esteemed and strengthened so as to increase its importance in the wider sphere of inter-group activity.

A number of other participants stress the importance of the language but also focus on its role at the state level; it is to be seen not just as the language of Kazakhs but of all citizens of Kazakhstan. In some cases this seems to represent a Kazakh nationalising view in which aspects of ethnic Kazakh identity are promoted to dominance.

4:156 “It’s very important because our president um, uh, makes every office, every institution accept his um worker uh, to know his national language, I mean not *his* national, that he must know Kazakh language.”†

For other participants though, it seems to represent identification with a higher level of inclusiveness which sees the Kazakh language as belonging to a developing Kazakhstani identity in which all groups are included.

4:158 “It’s the main language in Kazakhstan so I think it’s important for everyone.”

4:159 “It must be our first language. You see now Kazakhstan has two language, Russian and Kazakh... maybe it’s very good when we know Russian because for example, I know that most other countries know only one language... and it’s plus I think for us.”

The preceding quote highlights another view which several participants expressed. That is that the Russian language is also important and has a place in their lives which should not be denied or belittled. The Russian language has long been important in Kazakhstan and has shaped the country and its people. Also, languages such as Russian and English are seen to have value in helping Kazakhs communicate in wider spheres. A teacher from Miras University expresses this view in some detail.

4:160 “I said you that Kazakh language itself is very deep and beautiful language and it has its own sound and its own music which influence as an energy influence on the mentality greatly, I feel for myself so. So native language greatly influence on the mentality. Ah, for this reason I think the development of native language in our country is very important, to become as a nation. But er, it doesn’t mean that we should forget the Russian language because Russian language opens the door into the world for communicating with the outer world. And not saying English. English, it is a global language er, it helps us to communicate with the world, with all the world. For this reason it’s actual for us to survive in this world, to know 3 languages.”

This teacher values languages both for the personal and cultural and the instrumental values associated with them. A similar focus on the instrumental worth of language is seen in the responses of those who said that Kazakh was important because many documents are now distributed in Kazakh and because, as mentioned by the student quoted above (4:156), the language is increasingly required for jobs in offices and institutions. This view is also expressed by the teacher cited below.

4:161 “It’s important only in documentary, for example, if you communicate, I can communicate in Russian and in Kazakh, frankly speaking I don’t speak Kazakh, I just understand, but I cannot answer and in university there is a rule, all documents are in Kazakh language... and you have to fill it in Kazakh language and only this and I don’t think that’s really good because for example those people who do not speak Kazakh and write even Kazakh at all, it’s very difficult.”

Summary

From looking at interviewees’ responses to the question, ‘How important is the Kazakh language to being Kazakh?’ it has become apparent that for a majority of Kazakhs their ethnic language is intimately involved in their sense of what their ethnicity means and as such is highly valued as a mark of group belonging. However, a number of participants take a more pragmatic view of language and see the value of languages more in instrumental terms, or place a greater emphasis on languages as part of a more inclusive state level of identity.

4.20 ‘How important is the Russian language to being Russian?’

A similar spectrum of answers was elicited from Russians in response to the same question concerning their ethnic language. Table 4.15 below summarises the results and shows categories of response mentioned by more than one participant.

Table 4.15: Responses to the Question ‘How important is the Russian language to being Russian?’ (Russian Respondents)

Answer	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents Mentioning
Important	9	60
Part of identity, culture	4	27
Language of communication	4	27
Native language	3	20
All other responses	3	20

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 15

As with the Kazakh participants a relatively high number of Russians simply asserted that the language was indeed important to being Russian. Others went further, making clear that it was an integral part of their identity and culture.

4:162 “Of course the language is important. The Russian language is first of all, well you think in this language, that says something already.”

4:163 “It’s their native language, it’s important for their culture. If a person is Russian he must know Russian, it’s important for him so.” †

This quote also expresses the view that the language is an important part of being Russian because it is the native language of the group. Altogether the number of participants expressing the views described above, in which the language is seen as an integral part of the ethnic group identity, constitute 80% of the Russian participants answering this question.

As in the case of the Kazakhs, a small number of respondents perceived the importance of Russian in more instrumental terms describing it as being important because it functions as their main language of communication.

4:165 “Well obviously it’s a way of speaking, talking, for many Russians it’s very complicated to adopt the Kazakh language or some kind of other one, but if you have the desire, in principle it’s possible to learn to speak in any language...”†

It is therefore apparent that Russians hold very similar views to Kazakhs in terms of the importance of the ethnic language to the group and its identity. In order to assess whether this was also the case for minority group members the same question was put to them.

4.21 'How important is the Uzbek, Korean... language to being Uzbek, Korean...?'

Unfortunately the number of minority group representatives who answered this question is very small so no clear conclusions can be drawn. However, table 4.16 below shows the results that were obtained.

Table 4.16: Responses to the Question 'How important is the Uzbek, Korean... language to being Uzbek, Korean...?' (Minority Group Respondents)

Answer	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents Mentioning
Native language	2	40
Must know it	2	40
Important	1	20
Don't know	1	20
Doesn't matter	1	20

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response
Number of respondents = 5

Although the numbers are very small it does appear that a similar pattern obtains as for the other ethnic groups discussed with the majority describing the language as important and a necessary part of the group's identity and a minority disagreeing.

4.22 'Can you still be Kazakh if you don't speak the language?'

The above discussion made clear that members of all ethnic groups consider the language associated with their group to be an important part of their identity. In order to test and explore this view further, participants were asked whether it was possible to still call yourself by the ethnic group name if you didn't speak the language. Table 4.17 below shows how Kazakh interviewees responded to this question concerning their own group.

Table 4.17: Responses to the Question ‘Can you still be Kazakh if you don’t speak the language?’ (Kazakh Respondents)

Answer	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents Mentioning
Yes (no further comments given)	10	21
Yes, ethnicity decided by birth	9	19
Yes, traditions, patriotism more important	5	10
Yes, but is shameful, not true Kazakh	9	19
No	15	31

Number of respondents = 48

These results show that half of the Kazakh respondents believe that you can call yourself Kazakh even if you don’t know the language whilst half believe that you either cannot do so or that you are in some sense not a true Kazakh without the language.

The biological understanding of ethnic identity was made apparent in answers to questions previously discussed and is expressed again here by those who said that blood or birth made you Kazakh regardless of linguistic competence.

4:167 “Yes... Because even if I don’t speak in Kazakh I’m still a Kazakh because I was born Kazakh, it’s not important what language I speak.”

4:168 “...I don’t blame them because they were born and they were brought up in, in different time than ours. Yeah, I can say that they are Kazakh. Probably if the person don’t know his or her language um but they, they are, they are inside I would say, their inner world is uh, shows their nationality.”†

For this respondent ethnicity is something internal, revealed by a particular mentality or world-view. Similarly, for other respondents as well as biological connections, adherence to the forms and norms of ethnic tradition and a respect for and love of the identity are more important in determining group belonging than language knowledge.

4:170 “Yes... maybe I can because for example, our famous people, our statesmen they cannot speak Kazakh well but I think they are also Kazakh, they must have family, patriotism.”

4:171 “Yes of course because also they think that in the heart, traditions, the heart they all the time use our bread, you know, *boursak* [Kazakh bread], and our eatings, *beshtarmak* [the Kazakh national dish], they know... but now it doesn’t matter speak or she or he in Kazakh or in Russian but she feels that.”†

This respondent highlights the multidimensional nature of ethnic identity in which a whole range of group markers are important and from which individuals can select in order to demonstrate their group membership and loyalty. One of the teachers at Miras also describes the many different facets of ethnic experience each of which has its place and importance.

4:173 “I think it depends on education, it depends on environment, your friends, it depends on your family ‘cos some people I know that they don’t speak Kazakh, some people live out of our country in foreign countries but they respect all our holidays, all our traditions and customs and they are trying, I think they, they more they are real Kazakh than we ‘cos sometimes we don’t celebrate some holidays because we think it’s not important for us. So but in when you live out of your country you are missing so you’re trying to keep to save all these traditions and customs.

- “*So you think respect for the culture is a more important thing than speaking the language?*”

- Not only but it means, I mean when I say culture I include their art, our language, our customs and holidays. All things which shows that we are real Kazakh cos er when you will come, when you will come in Nauriz, in March 22nd of March we will celebrate our Kazakh New Year’s Day, so you can see there, you can see there our *yurta*, it’s a round house so with our, so with our national ornaments, with our folklore, so they sing our national songs, so it shows that you are real Kazakh, these things, we have our clothes, our language.”

The students and teachers discussed above seem to be discursively constructing an understanding of ethnicity which is determined biologically and experienced through the links of family and cultural practice, through celebrations, food and clothing.

Language is frequently stressed as important but it is one aspect among many and does not ultimately have a privileged status in determining group membership. For the other half of the Kazakh participants though, language does have this status, or something close to it. Some participants expressed the essentialising view that not knowing the language brought great shame or made you something less than a true Kazakh.

4:174 "...this person should know his own language... if this person doesn't know Kazakh language it's shame on him, it's very big importance of our Kazakh people."

4:175 "If you don't know Kazakh but you are Kazakh you are only gene Kazakh but if you want to be a real Kazakh you must know Kazakh."†

These views echo those expressed earlier in response to the question 'What makes you Kazakh, Russian...?' where participants made a distinction between ethnicity as a label as it might be recorded in a passport and ethnicity as an experience of group belonging expressed in family values, traditions and customs. For other participants language is put alongside or even above biological descent in determining ethnicity and therefore without the language you are not part of the group. The student quoted below for example, expresses a Romantic philosophy of language and nation.

4:178 "You can't be Kazakh if you don't speak the language - because the language is the main part of being the Kazakh, the part of the nation, because language is very important for every nation. If your parents are Kazakh but you don't speak the language you are not Kazakh, you are between Kazakh and Russian."

4:179 "If I don't know Kazakh how can I say that I am Kazakh?... For me parents are not so important because if I don't know Kazakh, I can't accept myself as a Kazakh."†

Thus, a relatively high proportion of Kazakhs see language as being at least partially determinative of ethnicity. The language is part of the identity and without the language the identity is incomplete. In order to compare this situation with the beliefs of Russians about the importance of Russian in ethnic group belonging the same question was put to them.

4.23 'Can you still be Russian if you don't speak the language?'

Table 4.18 below shows the distribution of answers from Russian participants to this question.

Table 4.18: Responses to the Question ‘Can you still be Russian if you don’t speak the language?’ (Russian Respondents)

Answer	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents Mentioning
Yes (no further comments given)	6	40
Yes, ethnicity decided by birth	2	13.3
Yes, traditions, patriotism more important	2	13.3
No	5	33.3

Number of respondents = 15

Although the number of participants is smaller, this table shows that the proportion of Russian interviewees who state that you can still call yourself a group member despite not knowing the language is higher than that of Kazakh interviewees. Despite the fact that in Kazakhstan the vast majority of ethnic Russians speak only Russian most participants believe that ethnicity is determined other than by language. However, a similar range of views is expressed by Russian participants. Thus, the idea that ethnicity is decided by birth and that it is largely culturally expressed is apparent among Russians as it is among Kazakhs.

4:181 “Yes, you can. Some, I have relatives who moved to Germany and now they don’t talk Russian at all, just German, but all the same they’re Russian.”

4:182 “No, he doesn’t have to speak Russian, from other, maybe by his deeds, his address, sometimes following certain traditions, there are things like that.”†

This teacher describes the ethnic experience similarly to the Kazakh teacher quoted above (4:173) in that ethnicity consists of a variety of social and cultural forms and practices such that language is not in itself essential to define group membership. However, as amongst Kazakhs, others see social processes as more important than biological descent and language as vital in defining the parameters of the group.

4:184 “Probably not. You know, I have an acquaintance, his mum is Lithuanian, his dad is Tatar but he says, ‘I’m a purely Russian person’, it sounds quite mixed but really his way of thinking, he was brought up and has always lived in a Russian environment. He lived in Russia for a long time and he thinks only in Russian, he acts like a Russian and therefore he is Russian.”†

It is clear then that the Russian interviewees agree that socialisation and cultural practice are strongly implicated in ethnic identity and belonging but disagree as to the importance of language within the matrix of group norms.

4.24 ‘Can you still be Uzbek, Korean... if you don’t speak the language?’

Members of ethnic minorities were also asked this question in order to explore their understanding of the importance of language amongst other group norms. Table 4.19 below shows the results.

Table 4.19: Responses to the Question ‘Can you still be Uzbek, Korean... if you don’t know the language?’ (Minority Group Respondents)

Answer	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents Mentioning
Yes	5	72
Yes, traditions more important	1	14
No	1	14

Number of respondents = 7

Once again the number of minority group respondents is very small. However, we can see that here too the majority agree that group membership is determined other than by language with one participant mentioning adherence to traditions as more important than knowledge of the language. Thus, it seems that the respondents are quite pragmatic about their identity and do not necessarily continue to prioritise a mark of that identity which most group members have lost. As with the Kazakh and Russian groups though, a minority does privilege language with determinative status.

The Importance of Language: Summary

From the foregoing it is clear that language occupies a privileged position in its role as a group norm for all ethnic groups. It is often cited as one of the main markers of ethnic belonging, an important part of the social identity of the group and for some it supersedes biological descent in being ethnically determinative.

4.4 Levels and Content of Identities: Summary

The social identity framework highlights the validity of many self-definitions and identities existing at differing levels of inclusiveness and made more or less salient

according to individual beliefs and experiences and to context. These points were well illustrated by the responses of interviewees to questions concerning levels of identity. Participants readily self-identified at personal, ethnic and state levels but each of these identities was brought out to a different extent for various respondents by differently phrased and focused questions. Their own attitudes and life experiences were also expressed and could be seen to play a part in determining the degree of identification with each level of identity and hence its relative salience in the context of the interview questions.

It is clear that a state level identity is emerging in Kazakhstan marked out by the characteristic group norms of hospitality, friendliness and openness and the social practices of republic-wide celebrations and traditions. It is esteemed for the progress made by the state in developmental and economic terms and Kazakhstan is seen to compare favourably with its Central Asian neighbours in these terms and also in terms of territory size and wealth of resources. As well as the states of Central Asia, and in particular, Uzbekistan, the Russian Federation also emerged as being regarded as relevant for comparison for many participants.

Ethnic identity is experienced by the participants as a highly valued multidimensional level of identity with different ethnic groups placing greater or lesser emphasis on various dimensions of that identity as important and membership defining. For Kazakhs and Russians there is often a focus on group markers that differentiate Central Asians from Europeans, such as skin colour or religion. However, minority group members tended to point out their distinctiveness from all other groups in Kazakhstan.

Language is extremely important as an element of ethnic identity for all groups and is valued as such. However, in response to social realities such that sometimes would-be group members do not speak the ethnic language many participants ultimately define group membership as possible without knowledge of the language. For some though, language is integral to the ethnic identity to such an extent that without knowledge of the language true group belonging is deemed to be impossible.

5 National Identity: Individual Interviews

5.1 The Discursive Construction of National Identity

Having established that state and ethnic levels of identity are salient and value laden ones for the participants in this study and having explored relevant aspects of the content of both of these it is instructive to make a further examination of the development of a state level, Kazakhstani national identity. In order to compare the participants' feeling of and beliefs about a Kazakhstani identity it is useful to draw upon ideas from the work done by Wodak et al (1999) discussing Austrian national identity (see chapter 1 for an introduction to this work).

In their research Wodak and her colleagues collected and analysed a selection of sets of data. These were political speeches, newspaper articles, posters and brochures, individual interviews and focus group discussions. One of the principal dimensions of analysis of these data sets was that of thematic content. Drawing on a review of relevant literature and on a pilot analysis of their own data five major thematic content areas were identified.

The first of these is the linguistic construction of a *homo nationalis* (a *homo Austriacus* in the case of their study of Austrian national identity). This thematic heading covers references to a national mentality, character or national behavioural dispositions as well as emotional attachment to the state, descriptions of national identity being 'activated', for example when visiting a foreign country, and references to aspects of origin such as place of birth, of residence or of socialisation.

The second content area identified is that of a common political past. This includes references to myths of origin and founding, mythical figures, political successes and times of prosperity and stability or of defeat and crisis.

The linguistic construction of a common culture is also identified as an important topic. This heading includes the fields of language, religion and the arts as well as science and technology and aspects of everyday culture such as sport, clothing, habits, food and drink.

The fourth content area highlighted is that of the linguistic construction of a common political present and future. This includes ideas about citizenship, political achievements or problems, political aims for the future and political virtues.

The final topic heading identified is the linguistic construction of a 'national body'. This covers the conception of a national territory and landscapes and the use made of those landscapes.

In order to further examine the nature and development of a Kazakhstani national identity these same topic headings have been applied to relevant parts of the interview data from Shymkent. The questions dealing most clearly with aspects of a possible Kazakhstani identity are outlined below.

The first question of the interview, 'How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?' was oriented to by a number of participants in terms of a state level Kazakhstani identity (see the discussion at the start of the preceding chapter for further detail). The answers given by these participants were therefore analysed using the thematic content headings listed above. Also analysed in this way were answers pertaining to a state identity in response to the questions 'Are you glad that Kazakhstan is now independent?' and 'What is the most important aspect of this?', 'How would you describe yourself?', 'Would you ever describe yourself as Kazakhstani?', 'Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?', 'What makes you proud to be a Kazakhstani?', 'What makes you ashamed?' and finally responses to the question 'Do you ever compare Kazakhstan with other countries, if so which ones and how?' were also analysed. Where answers to certain other questions related to these themes they have also sometimes been referred to or quoted.

5.2 The Discursive Construction of a *Homo Nationalis*

As noted above, this aspect of the content of national identity deals with what makes a person a member of a national community and how membership is experienced and

made evident. In the case of Austrian national identity many participants made reference to the importance of an emotional attachment and sense of commitment to the nation. This belief was also evident in quite a number of the responses under review in the present study. In describing the importance of the independence of Kazakhstan participants frequently use words such as ‘pleased’ and ‘proud’ when discussing being part of the national ingroup and stressing ownership of and participation in this identity.

5:1 “We have our capital, our country and our Tenge [the national currency] and we have what in the Kazakhstan is all ours and I am proud.”

5:2 “It took a long time to get our independence and now I’m proud of that, that I’m Kazakh, that I live in Kazakhstan, that I am part of this country.”†

Alongside the sense of pride and enjoyment of independence there is often an expression of hope for the future.

5:4 “I live here, I should like, it’s my country and... I can’t live here without being proud of it, so I know, it’s just the beginning and we have a lot of difficulties like, like our systems are not formed and everything is not formed but I hope in future, in good future for my children, for my, myself.”

5:5 “I am proud because our country, that’s the very country that’s up developed very quickly, ‘cos in comparison with other, like Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan we really higher...thanks to this we can open new factories, new schools, new colleges, we can provide new orphanages and so on.”†

As well as the hope that Kazakhstan will continue to gain in stature as a state and have a secure and prosperous future the desire to participate in and be part of the ongoing development of the state of which they are proud is also a strong theme, particularly in participants’ responses to the request to describe themselves. For example, one Russian Salem student describes herself as (5:7) “Something small in the big country and maybe needed in the future.” Similarly a student of the Kazakh Turkish University says, (5:8) “I think I will be a useful man for my country” and a student of the South Kazakhstan State University says that, (5:9) “In future I want to, part in developing our country of our Kazakhstan.”

The themes of pride and enjoyment of the national identity and of a sense of ownership and participation were also evident in answers to other questions. This is shown particularly clearly in the response of an ethnically Russian teacher at the Language Academy.

5:10 “I am a patriot of my country and when some people ask me why I don’t go to Russia, I think that it’s not my country, I was born here and this is my country and this tradition is also mine.”

Similarly an ethnically Uzbek student expresses his identification with and loyalty to the state.

5:11 “I was born here, I must respect the Kazakh state. I will work here and join the Kazakh army and I will protect my people.”

Other students too root their identity firmly into that of the state.

5:12 “I was born here, and the history and life of Kazakhstan is also my life and I can be proud of it, that I am Kazakhstani and was born in Kazakhstan.”†

The sense of identification with the state identity is also revealed by the way in which many participants use the pronouns ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘our’ to mark their inclusion within and emotional involvement with the Kazakhstani ingroup. This is exemplified by several of the participants quoted above and was particularly frequent in responses to the question asking about the most important aspect of independence.

5:14 “we have our own state and don’t depend on anyone. We can found our own way, our own laws”†

Closely linked to the theme of involvement, pride and emotional attachment to Kazakhstan is the theme that being born in the state creates a sense of attachment and loyalty, and the concept of a special bond with the homeland is noticeable in several participants’ responses. Language Academy teacher 1 (ethnically Russian), South Kazakhstan University student 7 (an Uzbek) and Kazakh Turkish University student

7 (a Kazakh) quoted above (5:10, 5:11, 5:12) all root their identification with the state in the fact that it is their place of birth and therefore has a claim on their loyalty and emotions whatever their ethnicity. Several other participants express similar views.

5:17 “I was born here so it doesn’t matter what my nationality [i.e. ethnicity] is but I am still a Kazakhstani.”

5:18 “I’m glad that I am Kazakhstani and that I was born here.”†

For some respondents it is not just the fact of being born in a place that is important but that it is also where they live and have been socialised. Residency creates the bond with the state, similarity with other ingroup members and difference from outgroup members.

5:21 “Kazakhstanis are different [than people from other countries] that they live in here and they, they have own abilities... Every Kazakhstani, Kazakhstani, whether he’s Russian or Kazakh or Tatar or Uzbek... all of them are united as one, in one Kazakhstan.”

5:22 “[People from Kazakhstan] are different [than people from other countries]. They, maybe they are different in bringing, yes upbringing and how, how we were brought up.”†

For these participants and others like them there is a Kazakhstani group identity that includes members of all ethnic groups. Members of the state are united and defined by being born and socialised in Kazakhstan which they believe results in natural pride and emotional attachment to the state as well as in a distinct ingroup identity setting them apart from members of other states.

Whilst some respondents give the impression that such an identity is naturally salient at all times, many describe experiences that made them particularly aware of their emotional bond with Kazakhstan and allegiance to a state level group membership. Wodak and her colleagues describe this as the ‘activation’ of national identity (1999: 31) and for participants in both the study of Austrian national identity and in the present investigation this is often linked to being in a foreign country or to returning

‘home’ from abroad (see section 4.2.4). An ethnically Korean student of Salem school states for example, that she described herself as ‘Kazakhstani’ when she lived in Russia for two years,¹ whilst a teacher at school 37 says that he described himself in that way when he visited the Ukraine.² A student of the Language Academy describes this process particularly clearly.

5:26 “I was in England and only when I visited, only when I left my country I felt myself as a Kazakhstani really. I find out that, find out that I am a patriotic person... I began missing my parents and also my friends, my town and the whole country.”

For many respondents though, it is not just being in a foreign country that activates their Kazakhstani identity but simply interacting with representatives of other countries. A student of the Kazakh Turkish University says that she describes herself as ‘Kazakhstani’, (5:27) “When I meet people from different countries” and a student at South Kazakhstan State University says that he described himself that way, (5:28) “when I met some foreign students.” A student at Salem school says that she describes herself as ‘Kazakhstani’ when, (5:29) “talking with other nationalities, defending Kazakhstan if it is belittled.” This shows both the activation of the national identity in contact with outgroup members and the need to maintain and defend a positive ingroup identity within that context. This theme is also evident in several other responses. For example a student of the Kazakh Turkish University says that she described herself as ‘Kazakhstani’ when abroad and because Kazakhstan (5:30) “is not famous” she was “compelled to describe the very big territory and the things and traditions and culture and language that belong to Kazakhstan.”

For some, the interaction with members of the outgroup does not need to be face to face to activate a sense of national identity. Salem student 9 says that a ‘Kazakhstani’ identity becomes salient when he communicates on the internet.³

¹ (Ss8Kof, [02, 03: 2.00-2.30], R) See Appendix B for information on referencing of quotes

² (37t2Km, [13, 01: 4.30-5.00], K)

³ (Ss9Rm, [02, 06: 2.40-3.00], R)

A more particular international context in which a Kazakhstani national identity is 'activated' for several of the respondents is that of watching or participating in sport.

5:31 "And this proudness I feel when I see different sport... sport competition yeah, we feel when we listening our team, the team of Kazakhstani and er, the banner of Kazakhstan raising so we feel very proud that we are Kazakhstani."†

Some respondents describe being surprised at the strength of their own feeling for Kazakhstan when watching sporting events. For example, an ethnically Russian student of Miras University seems to find her allegiance towards Kazakhstan unexpected.

5:33 "well yes I am a Kazakhstani... let's say when it's the Olympic Games, I for some reason support Kazakhstan and not Russia, is like that even being in Russia when I saw the Olympic games I still supported Kazakhstan although I wouldn't consider myself a patriot."

This response illustrates the way in which latent ingroup affiliations can become salient in particular social contexts when in other (probably intragroup) contexts the same identity had been far less salient and hence the student involved was surprised when the previously 'dormant' national identity was activated and the emotional responses inherent in identification with the group became evident.

The responses quoted above exemplify the way in which identification of the self with the nation is such that the good reputation and success, or lack of reputation and failure of the state prompts emotional and behavioural responses from individuals who perceive themselves to be members of that state. The wider reputation of the state or the success of a representative team or individual in the case of sport is appropriated and experienced positively by other ingroup members as legitimately contributing to their own sense of a positive self identity.

Also contributing to a secure and distinctive national identity is the concept of intra-national sameness and international difference. (The process of accentuating perceived similarities amongst ingroup members and differences from outgroup members is described in the self-categorization framework, see section 1.6.2). It is to

the desire to preserve a sense of intra-national uniformity that Wodak attributes the conception, common amongst the participants in her study, of distinctive Austrian characteristics and mentality, which she refers to as the discursive construction of a '*Homo Austriacus*'. Wodak and colleagues describe these concepts of typically Austrian behaviour, mentality and national character as being "of great importance" in the participants' discourse (Wodak et al. 1999: 193) and elsewhere state that

"Such statements about supposedly typical Austrian qualities and behaviour promote an assimilative presupposition of sameness or similarity within an ingroup. At the same time, such statements also encourage a singularising emphasis on national uniqueness, which, for its part, may be linked to the dissimilative presupposition, in other words to an emphasis on differences between one's own and other groups, which in turn are themselves assumed to be also internally homogeneous groups." (1999: 116-117).

Thus, as well as constructing a national character, the positive traits of this character and mentality are compared and contrasted to the less desirable characteristics of relevant national outgroups; typically the Germans and Swiss in the Austrian study and usually Russians and Uzbeks or other Central Asians in the present research.

This is exemplified in the comments made by a student of Salem school quoted above and repeated below.

5:34 "People who live in Kazakhstan, I've just been in Russia and can compare, all the same in the relationship between them, their hospitality, they are a lot warmer towards people and more sociable."

As well as showing participants' tendency to compare national characteristics with relevant others this quote is also an example of the principle aspect of a supposed Kazakhstani character – that of hospitality. This quality alongside those of openness and friendliness emerge as the characteristics of a 'typical' Kazakhstani and are referred to by a large number of participants, both students and teachers.

5:35 "Kazakhstanis are more polite, more kind than Uzbeks."

5:36 “They [the people of Kazakhstan] are more hospitable and friendly than Russian citizens.”

5:37 “There are some things which are present in all people of Kazakhstan. I would say main traditions, like hospitality and um, openness... Friendly, I would say they are friendly.”†

The fact that the trait of hospitality is valued as being characteristically Kazakhstani and part of a national identity is exemplified by the emotional reaction evident in the response of one participant when told that members of another national group share this character trait.

5:39 “Um, my sister is in Korea now and when she comes here, um sometimes I ask you to tell me something about Korea, but when she tells me something good and I feel that she um uh, she changes her mind about Kazakhstan and I shout her, ‘you mustn’t tell so, because Kazakhstan is best!’ For example when she uh, uh that there people are very good and hos, hospitable I say that you shouldn’t tell so because our person are very hospitable and that’s all.”

This student feels that her sister is betraying the national ingroup by praising Koreans so highly and attributing to them the character trait which, she believes, ‘belongs’ to Kazakhstanis. Many respondents indicate their belief in this national character which has evolved over time as the many ethnic groups resident in Kazakhstan have lived together.

5:40 “Because of long living in Kazakh that is the assimilation of nations takes place. And not assimilation but even um, change in culture maybe, in mentality, yeah, intra, intra-influence maybe yeah, intra-influence of cultures and there the assimilation of cultures takes place.”

5:41 “[the people of Kazakhstan] have different mentality, they have their own type of living... I think that we [ethnic minorities] have some difference with Kazakh people, Kazakh people but nevertheless, we are, we like we live like one nationality, and we have the same mentality, way of thinking.”

The idea of a national Kazakhstani character which separates the ethnic minorities of Kazakhstan from their co-ethnics in their titular republic is frequently reinforced by responses (in particular to the questions asking whether ethnic groups are internally

homogeneous) stating that Kazakhstanis are not recognised by their co-ethnics in these republics.

5:42 “They usually say that those who go to Russia from Kazakhstan aren’t recognised by their own people, the Russians there. It’s the same everywhere, for example, Kazakhstan’s Uzbeks aren’t recognised there, Uzbekistan’s Uzbeks don’t recognise them.”

5:43 “If a Russian goes to Russia he can easily be recognised that he comes from Kazakhstan, by the speech, by the behaviour, the traditions.”†

In the previous chapter it was suggested that whilst these characteristics were seen as normative for Kazakhstanis their value as distinctive group attributes setting Kazakhstanis apart from relevant Central Asian outgroups where such attributes were also valued, was limited. Thus as well as describing the national ingroup as possessing these qualities to a greater extent than for example, the neighbouring Uzbeks, Kazakhstanis also highlight other aspects of the national culture which, in their opinion, set them apart more clearly from other Central Asian states and from Russia. Kazakhstan is more multi-ethnic than any of the other Central Asian countries and also enjoys relatively good relations between ethnic groups. Thus, tolerance, good communication between ethnic groups and peacefulness are put forward by many participants as being part of a Kazakhstani mentality and Kazakhstani behavioural disposition. These traits therefore, positively distinguish ‘*Homo Kazakhstanus*’ from his neighbours.

5:45 “our society is multinational and er, that is, the national character as tolerance helps us to live in this community, multinational community, and I’m very proud that our nation er, multinational state is stable and er, different people can understand each other and can live in peace with each other”

5:46 “There are a lot of nationalities but they are all I think common, like very polite um very friendly, I think so. They don, they don’t show any um, like, discrimination towards other nationalities. So, we are very friendly, I said there are a lot of nationalities so it’s very good and we are maybe one country from former Soviet Union which remains without war, very friendly.”†

This last quote serves to highlight that it is indeed the countries of the former Soviet Union which constitute the outgroups perceived to be relevant for comparison and competition.

Through the preceding discussion it has been demonstrated that many of the elements of the discursive construction of a national identity described by Wodak and her team in the discussion groups and interviews they carried out in Austria and which they gathered under the thematic heading of the concept of a '*homo nationalis*' are also present in the responses of participants in the present study. It should be pointed out that there is no unanimous consensus from the Shymkent participants, on the contrary different interviewees offer varied viewpoints on the elements of national identity in question and there are even individuals who, within the course of the interview, make conflicting comments as to the extent of the existence of a common Kazakhstani identity and its constituent elements. However, the fact that numerous participants' responses do converge in many respects in relation to this topic, and that certain ideas, (such as the concept of emotional attachment and loyalty to the state arising from birth and socialisation there), words and phrases (as for example, 'pleased', 'proud' and the inclusion of self using the pronouns 'we', 'us' and 'our') recur in multiple interviews demonstrates that the students and staff of this study are indeed part of a common social context in which the existence and nature of a common Kazakhstani identity are being negotiated discursively.

5.3 The Discursive Construction of a Common Political Past

In introducing a discussion of participants in the Austrian study's comments relating to the theme of the discursive construction of a common political past, Wodak states that

"Historical or mythicised recollections which are stored in the collective memory of social groups are of particular importance for the construction of national identity" (Wodak et al.1999: 157).

Where Shymkent interview participants have oriented towards historical themes their comments are reviewed here in relation to the areas of thematic content Wodak and her team found relevant. As well as references to myths of origin these included reference to mythical figures, political successes, times of prosperity or stability and of defeat or crisis.

One important event in recent history about which the participants in the Shymkent study were asked is that of Kazakhstan becoming an independent republic at the time of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This is viewed by many of the respondents as a major achievement and as a very positive event. Participants frequently describe their 'pride' that Kazakhstan is now an independent state and say that they value highly the freedoms that independence has brought as well as the very status of independence itself.

A student of Salem school says that she feels (5:48) "more pride in Kazakhstan, because now it is an independent country." One of the teachers at the same school believes that the best aspect of independence is the new level of freedom.

5:49 "freedom in religion and freedom in travelling to other countries, freedom on starting business and in politics as well, I would say it's more freedom. I think it's good for Kazakhstan to be independent."

A student at the Kazakh Turkish University says that the best thing about independence is that, (5:50) "it's a separate country and doesn't depend on anyone" and similar beliefs are expressed by many other participants.

In contrast, the majority of participants view the period of Soviet rule negatively and use words such as 'oppression', 'colonisation' or a 'yoke' and speak of it as a time of 'loss' and crisis for Kazakh culture and language.

5:51 "when... [Kazakhstan] was united with Russia for a long time it, from some sides of course it was bad, the government was a yoke, people were exiles and people couldn't live as they wanted."

5:52 “the state, the Soviet state was totalitarian here, there, of course you can’t justify that kind of oppression that happened, that’s completely unjustified.”

5:53 “During the Soviet Union it was a time when there was a danger Kazakhs could lose their religion, cultural traditions, even language... Kazakh people were colonised and directed by Russians during the Soviet Union.”†

Moreover, independence is portrayed as being the result of a long struggle in which previous generations of the autochthonous population had engaged (see chapter 7 for further discussion of this theme).

5:56 “It was our grandfathers’ aims to be independent and we are now independent, we are not colony of other republic or Russian federation.”

5:57 “Because we have been colonised about 70 years and our ancestors just dreamt about independence and now we got the independence, had it for about 10 years.”

Whilst many of these comments focus on the negative aspects of Soviet rule there is a concurrent discourse in which the Russian people who have settled in Kazakhstan have, along with other minority groups, become assimilated to local Central Asian culture and traditions and as such genuinely belong in the territory and now to the newly independent state. Several comments were quoted in the previous section in which participants expressed the belief that Russians in Kazakhstan are different than those in Russia and do not comfortably ‘belong’ in Russia as they do in Central Asia. The director of Salem school discusses this point in some detail.

5:58 “this is very clear to me, that Russian people who live in Kazakhstan are different to Russian people who live in um, I would say actually Russian people who live in Central Asia, like Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, they are different to Russian people who live in Russia. Because they become like us, like Asian people in their traditions and when they, I’ve heard from many of my friends who went to visit relatives in Russia there, they felt quite strange there... some [Kazakhstani Russians who had emigrated to Russia] came back because they couldn’t adapt to their culture. Some of them are still living there but I think they are getting into small communities of Russians who were in Kazakhstan or Tajikistan and actually they come from different Central Asian countries but they kind of can find, you know, similar things, I’ve heard about marriages between their families.”

Thus, this teacher, and many other participants, believe that Russians who have been resident in Central Asia for a prolonged period have become a part of that community, increasingly separate and distinct from Russians living in Russia. Common experience has generated a new and binding identity that distinguishes them as members of the Central Asian, and in this case Kazakhstani, ingroup and means that Russians outwith Central Asia are actually a foreign outgroup to them.

Also, whilst much of the discourse concerning Russification is negative and highlights the forced imposition of Russian language and culture there is also a secondary discourse in which some Russian influence is seen positively and in which the two ethnic groups are seen to mutually influence each other creating a new mixed culture. One of the teachers at Miras University says that she feels that she is an example of this inter-cultural influence.

5:59 “You see I am, I was born in the Soviet Union you see and uh, for me uh, I’m bred on the mixture of Kazak and Russian mentality so...for me Russian people as well as Kazakh people similar, for me. I do not divide them because we have common, much common or general between two nations, between two mentality... we have a common culture.”

Another teacher at Miras exaggerates her own mixed ethnic background to highlight the way in which the variety of ethnic and cultural influences in Kazakhstan results in a new Kazakhstani identity.

5:60 “Our Russians are all by parts, I’m partly German from my grandmother, partly Russian from my parents, partly Chinese from my husband, partly English from Masha [her English speaking granddaughter], really, I’m truly a Kazakhstani, I’m like that, Kazakhstan has always been a very hospitable state, old people used to be against mixed marriages and say Kazaks should marry only Kazakhs but not any more.”

In terms of recent history and in particular Kazakhstan as an independent republic there is clearly a discourse of ethnic and cultural inclusion in the national identity. However, with regard to more ancient history many of the participants describe Kazakhstan as the territory of the Kazakhs specifically and as belonging to them (see chapters 7 and 8 for further references to this theme). Although there are no

comments which clearly relate to the origin or foundation of Kazakhstan, references are made to Kazakh ancestors belonging there and Kazakhs are often described as the 'root' population. This theme, alongside that of the character trait of hospitality discussed earlier, results in a discourse which, although largely contradictory to that of forced Russian colonial expansion and oppression, nevertheless runs alongside it and portrays the hospitable Kazakhs as willingly accepting and welcoming Russians and other minorities into their territory. For example a student at Salem school says that, as a Kazakh, she is proud (5:61) "that I have such a people, good, that accepts other nations to its country." Other respondents also participate in this discourse.

5:62 "Kazakhs live in Kazakhstan, it's their country, I think the Kazakhs are a very hospitable people, they accepted the Russians... [they] really respect those who've come to their country."†

Thus, the Soviet period is portrayed as a time of defeat and crisis which threatened the viability of the Kazakh language and culture. However, the highly valued character trait of hospitality which has now become an ingroup marker for all Kazakhstanis is also utilised to create an alternative, more positive discourse in which the Kazakhs show their hospitality by welcoming in many other nationalities to share 'their' territory with them (see the comments on the introduction to the Constitution in chapter 8). Moreover, the fact that many nationalities have resided together for so long in Kazakhstan is part of a theme of stability, successful learning from each other and cultural interchange.

Wodak also includes mythical figures as an important theme in her study's participants' construction of a common political past. In contrast, the participants in the present study did not orient to this theme in their comments relating to history. One respondent however did mention a mythical figure from history and in doing so provides a telling example of the very cultural mixing mentioned above. This participant, a student of the South Kazakhstan State University, says that he is proud to be Kazakh because (5:64) "we have a lot of Bogatyrs." The Bogatyri are a collection of legendary heroes from Russian folk epics. This student is thereby

appropriating a Slavic folk hero to describe the heroic nature of the Kazakh people and gives no indication that this might be perceived as incongruous.

5.4 The Discursive Construction of a Common Culture

The third thematic content area identified by Wodak and her team is that of a common culture. This pertains to aspects of everyday culture such as sport, food and drink, and dress as well as to science and technology, the arts, including such areas as music, literature, painting and theatre, and also encompasses responses relating to ideas about language and religion.

This thematic area overlaps to a degree with that of the linguistic construction of a *homo nationalis* in that a proposed national mentality and national characteristics or behavioural predispositions are closely linked to a cultural conception of nationality.

Wodak and her co-authors state that

“The interview and the focus group data indicate that intermingling politically based and culturally based lines of argumentation seems to be the ‘norm’ in everyday discourse of national identification. Even where interviewees emphasised citizenship as a criterion for national membership and identity (which, by the way, did not occur very often), most of them pointed to linguistically, culturally and ethnically defined elements of Austrian self-perception at a later point in the interview.” (1999: 150-151).

The responses that make up the Shymkent interview data also show a more frequent orientation to culturally defined elements of national identity than to civic ones.

However, Austria is far less ethnically heterogeneous than Kazakhstan and far closer to being a prototypical mono-ethnic nation state. It is likely that this fact has a strong influence on the willingness of the participants in Wodak’s study to define Austrian national identity in ethnic, cultural or linguistic terms. In contrast, a number of the Shymkent interviewees deny that there is any cohesive Kazakhstani cultural identity and insist instead that the cultural differences between ethnic groups are of greater significance than any similarities between them and than any possible differences

between Kazakhstanis and members of other states. For example, a teacher at the Kazakh Turkish University expresses this view.

5:65 “They [the ethnic groups] are different, they have their own mentality, for example, I have my own opinions, Russian people have their own, Uzbek also.”

Therefore, two competing discourses are evident in the Shymkent data. One of these constructs an ethnically divided heterogeneous society with only civil elements of a national identity in common whilst the other constructs an ethnically diverse and yet cohesive, culturally defined Kazakhstani identity.

A teacher at the Language Academy, a Tatar by ethnicity, describes principal aspects of the benefits of independence as being cultural.

5:66 “For us, the intelligentsia, for the young, of course, the spiritual, spiritual, cultural aspects are important... we have gained the opportunity for the development of the national language, the national culture and independent development.”

Many of the participants who affirm a Kazakhstani cultural identity do not specify very clearly what such a culture involves. In fact, in a number of responses interviewees simply list ‘culture and traditions’ as being unifying factors in a Kazakhstani identity without seeming to be able easily to elaborate on what this means. Having ‘traditions and customs’ such as friendliness, sociability and hospitality in common is often mentioned as is the joint celebration of certain festivities, the Russian and Kazakh New Years (marked in January and March respectively), for example. These aspects of a national identity, discussed in the previous chapter, are mentioned by a large number of the Shymkent interviewees in the linguistic construction of a common cultural identity.

Sport and support for a Kazakhstani sportsman or woman or for the national team is also cited as a unifying factor. Participants of all ethnicities describe feeling national pride and becoming emotionally involved when watching international sporting events. Examples of this have been quoted above (see, for example, 5:31, 5:32 and 5:33).

Overall, the participants describe a multi-ethnic community in which such aspects of everyday culture as food and drink, music, habits of dress and ways of marking life events such as birthdays, funerals or weddings are seen as differing according to ethnic group but that groups recognise, accept and sometimes participate in the cultural practices of other ethnic traditions. Therefore, although the participants cannot describe many aspects of everyday culture which unite all parts of Kazakhstani society there is a common belief in such an identity. A response from a university teacher quoted in the previous chapter and repeated below articulates this view.

5:67 “[if] the person came from Russia or from China, Korea it doesn’t matter. I have group mates and absolutely all of them they were not Kazakh and they were Azerbaijan, Uzbek, um Ukrainian and many nationalities, I have never thought of their nationality it’s even interesting to know his traditions for example, to know how they for example, celebrate the wedding party or something like this”

Other respondents express similar opinions.

5:68 “Every Kazakhstani, Kazakhstani, whether he’s Russian or Kazakh or Tatar or Uzbek, they have their own traditions, and each one has their own traditions, the Uzbeks, the Tatars, the Russians and all of them are united as one, in one Kazakhstan.”

5:69 “all nations, we all live in Kazakhstan, we are no longer marked by ethnic nationality but by our state, that we are all Kazakhstanis and as I said all the traditions and national celebrations are marked by any nationalities.”†

Also contained within this thematic heading is the inclusion of language within a conception of a common culture. This is a topic in which the multi-ethnic nature of Kazakhstan is once again relevant and significant. Ideas concerning language and the roles of, in particular, the Russian and Kazakh languages are important in the construction of a Kazakhstani identity. Again there are competing discourses evident in the Shymkent data. Some participants stress the importance of Kazakh to the exclusion of other languages in constructing an independent Kazakhstani culture. Other participants however, as in the case of everyday culture discussed above,

recognise the diversity of native languages in use in Kazakhstan, although some highlight the symbolic importance of Kazakh as the official state language of independent Kazakhstan. This last point is illustrated by the comments of an ethnically Russian student, who studies in the Russian group and spoke Russian during the interview. She said that

5:73 “The main thing in our independence is that our language is developing, the Kazakh language is developing, it is starting to, receive attention from other countries.”

The same student goes on to say that

5:74 “it seems to me that when someone is proud of Kazakhstan... I think he must first of all learn the Kazakh language, because he lives in Kazakhstan he should learn Kazakh.”

The fact that the student in question does not act on this belief herself by speaking or studying in Kazakh illustrates the fact that for many the status and respect which it is believed should be accorded to the Kazakh language is largely symbolic.

The priority due to Kazakh is also referred to by others.

5:75 “Kazakh [should be the official language because] in the country of Kazakhstan the Kazakhs are the root population.”

5:76 “Of course for me it’s better to speak in Russian but as I, as I understand it should be first Kazakh then Russian language, we should know Kazakh, it should be [the official state language].”†

However, some participants believe that there should be parity between Russian and Kazakh at an official level as both are necessary for ease of communication with members of the Kazakhstani community.

5:78 “we live in one country ‘cos my neighbours are Kazakh or Russian it but I have to work with different people, with people of different ages, sexes and languages so that’s why I should know more languages than one Kazakh language.”

5:79 “there must be, must be two um, two languages yes, Kazakh and Russian because um, there are two nationalities prevailing in our, in our country.”

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the concept of a common Kazakhstani culture is contested. Some participants in the study believe that there is a coherent and cohesive cultural group identity uniting the different ethnicities of the state or that one is developing. Within this group identity though there seems to be a recognition of continuing differences between ethnic groups in some aspects of cultural practice. The unifying factor then highlighted is a culture of tolerance and of learning about and learning from each other. However, there are a number of participants who express the opinion that the cultural differences between ethnic groups preclude any sense of a broader common identity other than a legal and civic one. Although present in the responses relating to the linguistic construction of a common national character and a common political past these competing discourses emerge particularly clearly when discussing everyday culture and language in present day Kazakhstan.

5.5 The Discursive Construction of a Common Political Present and Future

The fourth thematic content area identified as salient by Wodak and her colleagues was that of a common political present and future. Under this heading they included ideas relating to citizenship, to political achievements and virtues, and to defeats and crises as well as to political aims for the future.

As discussed in the previous section, although many participants relate principally to a culturally defined national identity, this may be expressed alongside references to more civic aspects of the state identity and some participants deny any relevant cultural identity associated with membership of the state, believing that only civic aspects of identity exist at that level. As part of these discourses participants do orient to a common political present and future.

Although cultural aspects of identity are most salient for many participants, it seems that in certain contexts at least, the boundary marking function of official citizenship

is highly salient with regards to membership of the Kazakhstani ingroup. This is highlighted by the response of one of the teachers in the Shymkent study. Ethnically Russian, she describes how culturally she feels at home in Kazakhstan and recounts how, during a visit to Russia she felt, and was identified by others as an outsider because she spoke Kazakh and spoke Russian with a non Russian accent as well as exhibiting Central Asian characteristics and ideas. Despite all this she describes herself as ‘a foreigner’ in Kazakhstan because she has yet to receive a passport.

5:80 “I’m still a citizen of Russia and haven’t yet received a passport, I’m not a citizen of Kazakhstan, when I get one, then I probably will [call myself Kazakhstani], I’m still a foreigner.”

Another participant shows by his response that for him citizenship and more emotive elements of national identity are integrally linked.

5:81 “I was born here so it doesn’t matter what my nationality is but I’m still a Kazakhstani, a citizen of Kazakhstan because I love this country and I was born here.”

As discussed above, some participants highlight the celebration of certain holidays as a unifying factor for the people of Kazakhstan. One respondent mentions Nauriz (Kazakh/ Persian New Year celebrated March 22nd), Constitution Day (August 30th), Republic Day (October 25th) and Independence Day (December 16th) in this context.⁴ In addition to these celebrations, New Year (1st January), International Women’s Day (March 8th), Kazakhstan Nations Unity Day (1st May) and Victory Day (May 9th) are also public holidays. This selection shows a clear emphasis on inclusive celebrations primarily oriented to celebrating the republic’s independence and nation-building efforts with only International Women’s Day and Victory Day oriented to the Soviet period of Kazakhstan’s history. The celebration of Nauriz was banned during Soviet times and having been revived since independence is now presented as an ethnically inclusive occasion with city sponsored celebrations giving a stage for performances of dances and display of clothing associated with the various ethnic groups represented in Kazakhstan. The designation of the existing May Day holiday as

Kazakhstan Nations Unity Day shows a similar determination on the part of the government to portray Kazakhstan as an ethnically inclusive and harmonious state. Thus, on these occasions the government encourages a perception of the expression of ethnic identity as being largely a matter of interesting national costumes, dances and songs rather than anything which might affect the life and governance of the state more meaningfully.

The discourse of ethnic peace and inclusion is reflected in the responses of the interview participants where the achievement and preservation of inter-ethnic harmony is portrayed as one of the main political virtues of the state. A number of participants expressed pride in the fact that Kazakhstan had made the transition from being a part of the Soviet Union to being an independent republic without violence and has on the whole continued to maintain good relations between the different ethnic groups that make up the population and between itself and other states.

5:82 “[I am proud of] our country, our unity, unity of nations of all, the friendship with other countries, that we don’t have war.”

5:83 “[I am proud that] our reforms are peaceful, and that the many nationalities live peacefully.”[†]

A number of participants also cite the introduction of democracy as a political achievement and virtue. Many talk about the new freedoms they enjoy as a result of independence and value these highly as positive aspects of their newly defined state identity.

5:86 “I think that all people are happy, we have a democratic republic, I’m happy because I live in Kazakhstan.”

5:87 “we have freedom of speech, freedom of everything, a person can live as he likes, the freedom of Kazakhstan [is the most important aspect of independence]”

⁴ (SKs12Km, [10, 11: 6.50-7.10], E)

A number of participants talk about the virtues and achievements of the president as an aspect of state belonging that they value highly and which contributes to a positive and secure group identity in comparisons with other state leaders. Nazarbaev is closely associated with the transformation of Kazakhstan from Soviet state to independent republic and is credited with Kazakhstan's higher economic achievement than its Central Asian neighbours (see chapter 7 for more on this theme).

5:88 "I am proud of our president, OK, because he make, makes lots of things for people and even he, he gives... freedom for uh, people... to create their own business, yeah, yeah and um comparing with Uzbekistan our economy and our, how to say, our position is more, is better than theirs."

5:89 "We have a wonderful president and I consider that the future of Kazakhstan is bright... I was very pleased... when we received independence. We don't have a dictatorship like above us to dictate, we have a single man who is truly in agreement with the country – it's the president who decides all questions."

This last quote is interesting in that it illustrates the popularity of the president and of a strong leader for the country with many of the population in that the interviewee sees no contradiction between his belief that Kazakhstan does not have a dictatorship and his assertion that Nazarbaev "decides all questions".

The relative economic prosperity of Kazakhstan in comparison with its Central Asian neighbours is the most commonly mentioned achievement about which participants are proud. The fact that Kazakhstan has come through the state of crisis which followed the dissolution of the USSR and has, in recent years, seen significant social and economic improvements is obviously of tangible benefit to its citizens. The fact that Kazakhstan is rich in natural resources which are now being utilised by Kazakhstan itself for its own benefit and that much of the population now enjoy a higher standard of living than many inhabitants of neighbouring states is often attributed to the president and contributes significantly to a positive and secure state identity.

5:92 “After the collapse of the Soviet Union you can notice the big territory and due to the reforms made by the government we are ahead of other post-Soviet countries.”

5:93 “Most of all I’m glad because [Kazakhstan] is improving, the crisis is past and now we’re in the time of the upturn zone. You can say most of all I’m pleased...that it is sovereign, first of all we are improving our economy ourselves, using our own resources...When it was Russia, together with the USSR it was like all resources were in common, they stood in for each other but now Kazakhstan must decide everything in only its own strength.”

5:94 “Yes, er, the economics is progressing and er, we er, years by, year by year we got good results and it makes every Kazakh people, Kazakhstan people happy.”†

Many participants also express hope for the future and state that the main objective for Kazakhstan is continued economic development accompanied by social and cultural development, particularly in the sphere of education. A number of respondents express their pride in the progress Kazakhstan has made in the relatively short time since gaining independence and their hope that this rapid development will continue for their own and future generations’ benefit.

Wodak also includes discursive orientation to the concepts of current and future political problems and to crises and danger within this thematic area of national identity. In relation to this a number of the Shymkent participants refer to the problem of corruption prevalent in Kazakhstan. It is described as a source of shame which threatens their positive self identity. Other sources of dissatisfaction for the Shymkent participants include the lack of development and improvements in quality in the spheres of health and education, areas of society which some feel do not compare well with those of other countries.

5:98 “Yes, some problems [make me ashamed], like education system, medical system, all these systems should be changed and they will be changed in some time so it’s, it’s difficult time for us now.”†

Overall then, many of the participants in the present study talk positively about the political and economic achievements of Kazakhstan and of its president in the years since independence. Despite ongoing problems of corruption and the slow development of basic aspects of society there is often a sense of optimism that things

will continue to improve and that given continued economic stability and inter-ethnic harmony areas of society such as education and medical care will be developed and will, in time, compare favourably with those of other countries.

5:102 “What you see on the television on the news, that some countries are better developed than us but we will reach that point in a certain time, we’ll reach it...we just need time.”

5.6 The Discursive Construction of a ‘National Body’

The fifth thematic area distinguished by Wodak and her colleagues in relation to Austrian national identity was that of the discursive construction of a ‘national body’. This heading relates to discussions of the national territory, the landscape and the transformation of that landscape by the national community.

A number of the participants in the Shymkent study referred to the territory belonging to Kazakhstan. For many the large size of Kazakhstan was a source of pride, although for a few, orienting to a comparison with the Russian Federation, the size of the territory was not seen as being a source of positive ingroup identification. Participants talking about the territory also often went on to discuss the richness of Kazakhstan in oil and other natural resources as a further source of pride and both of these aspects were often further valued as Kazakhstan’s ‘own’ now that the state is independent.

5:103 “I’m proud that, in Kazakhstan there is oil, different metals, diamonds and that we’ve become a competitive country. I’m proud that our Kazakhstan produces a lot of raw materials for example and I’m proud that it produces these, oil products.”

5:104 “Well Kazakhstan is a great country, it is a large territory equipped with useful raw materials and it seems to me we have a good president...it’s a good country, I like it, it’s very beautiful here.”†

This last quote is an example of how some participants also expressed pride in the beauty of the physical landscape. It was noted above, in the discussion of a national character, that emotional attachment to the state is often perceived to be important. A

number of the Shymkent participants express such an emotional attachment in connection with an appreciation of the natural beauty of Kazakhstan.

5:109 “[I am proud of] our nature, so my hobby is taking picture of nature, I have a lot of pictures of nature so I like our nature and I like travelling so I was in different places but every time when even, even I am out of Kazakhstan I sort of think it is interesting but when I come back, when I come back to my er, country and see other places so every time I am discovering new things new places... so that’s why I proud.”

As discussed in the section dealing with a national character, for a number of participants there is an emotional link with Kazakhstan because of it being ‘home’ and several express the opinion that, as their homeland Kazakhstan has a natural and unquestioned claim on their loyalty and emotions.

5:110 “I’m happy because I live in Kazakhstan because it’s my beloved home, my homeland.”

5:111 “I was born here and the, the history and life of Kazakhstan is also my life and I can be proud of it, that I am Kazakhstani and was born in Kazakhstan and in such a city as Shymkent in Kazakhstan, I can be proud of it all, the climate, the territory, the nature.”†

For some participants the bond between the land and the people is so important that they believe characteristics of the land and the landscape have shaped those of the people living there so that their identity is integrated with the land itself. This is particularly the case with ethnic Kazakhs who often express a sense of being rooted in the territory and frequently focus on the fact that many generations of their ancestors have lived there giving them a special connection with that geographic space (the theme of continuity was touched on in the previous chapter and that of the land shaping the character of the people is discussed further in chapter 7).

5:114 “In general our Kazakhs, you can say, if you look at the steppe, it’s so vast and boundless and the Kazakh spirit is also expansive like that, hospitable, open.”

5:115 “Um, we are sort of in the middle of Europe and Asia, not just geographically but in our mentality now. It’s like, and actually it’s one of the things our government is seeking. It’s a sort of mentality of someone who is Asian but European at the same

time. So I think this makes us different to other people. Yeah, we are kind of, we have this ancient kind of traditions of Asia, Asian you know, people, but at same time our present and future are more into Europe, you know, I mean, West, Western culture. So it's a funny mixture, mixture of Asian and Western culture. Like in family at home, we are Kazakhs, but in business, in our office you know we are quite Western."

Although overall there is a focus on intra-national sameness and international difference there is also some acknowledgement of differences within Kazakhstan. Many participants commented on the differences between people in the north, who are generally more Russified, and those in the south who follow more traditional Kazakh lifestyles and are more Central Asian in their characters. These character differences too are sometimes linked to geography as the following response from a teacher at Miras University shows.

5:116 "It depends on in what part of Kazakhstan you live, 'cos in north they are colder even in their behaviour and in their sayings er in thinking so everything is a bit colder in north Kazakhstan. So in south they are warmer, I don't know, maybe it's from our geographical position."

Similar opinions are expressed by other participants. For example, an ethnically Tatar teacher at the Language Academy expresses the belief that southern Kazakhs are more adaptable and get on well with members of all ethnic groups whereas those from the north are harsher and less mutable either becoming completely Russified or remaining traditionally Kazakh, with no compromise between the two.

5:117 "The large territory means that there's a psychological differential amongst Kazakhs. Let's say the best Kazakhs are the southern ones, they are very approachable, they adapt themselves well, they economic, political and cultural life in southern Kazakhstan, let's say, from Zhambul, from Almaty, they are very, very approachable, very mobile, dynamic. As regards other Kazakhs, let's say northern, western and eastern Kazakhs, they have already left the flock, they are more harsh, if they've already become Russified then they're Russified, if they've remained Kazakhs, then they've remained Kazakhs. But our Kazakhs are more free, more mobile... The local Kazakhs also live very well with Uzbeks and also very well with Russians."

The theme of those in the south (where Shymkent is situated) being warmer, more hospitable, friendlier and more open than those in the north (and sometimes than

those from the former capital, Almaty) is one which occurs often in the participants' discussions of possible intra-national differences and suggests the relevance of a regional level identity for some of the participants.

5:118 "if we talk about Almaty there are people there they are, more formal, they try to keep the distance between each other but here it's absolutely different."

5:119 "I think Kazakhs in south are different from Kazakhs in north. Here they are more like, they pay attention more at, at the culture at tradition, more traditional maybe yes like in south it's the middle of Asia and all traditions are preserved, yeah preserved, but in the north of Kazakhstan they more like Russian because it's border with Russia and yeah they work like Russian and they don't speak Kazakh."

5:120 "In south Kazakhstan they are more polite and friendly than in north Kazakhstan."

In general the participants in the present study made very few references to cities in Kazakhstan or to architecture and the transformation of physical space. The few comments there were relating to these themes were those expressing pride in the development and construction of the new capital city of Astana (relocated from Almaty in 1996) and in its buildings.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that conceptions of the national body do play a part in discourses relating to the national identity of Kazakhstanis. Participants express pride in the land, its beauty and its rich resources. Some also describe a special bond with the land as home and there are suggestions that over time the geographical location and characteristics of Kazakhstan have influenced the people living there such that their characters reflect their place of origin. In these ways the respondents in the Shymkent study construct a national identity with strong connections to their ideas about the physical nature of the state.

5.7 National Identity: Summary

Wodak and her colleagues highlighted five thematic content areas which they believed to be salient in the discursive construction of an Austrian national identity. These were the discursive construction of a *homo nationalis*, of a common political

past, a common culture, a common political present and future and of a national body. The above discussion has demonstrated that discourses relating to all these themes are present in the interview data from Shymkent. However, although each of these themes is present the participants do not speak unanimously about them. The past experiences and differing understandings of each individual as well as differing exposure to and filtering of existing discourses about the topic influence the way in which they relate to concepts of their own national identity and their linguistic construction of such an identity. Thus, competing and conflicting discourses are evident in the interview data and it is clear that for the students and staff represented in this study the nature of a Kazakhstani national identity is still very much under negotiation.

There are definite similarities between the responses given in the study of Austrian identity and those given in the present research. However, as Wodak rightly points out, the particular history of a people and state play a pivotal role in determining which particular events and themes will be taken up and integrated into discourses of national identity for that people. Thus, the fact that Kazakhstan is a newly independent state with a recent colonial history and an ethnically heterogeneous population means that discourses of national identity there differ from those of the Austrian participants in Wodak's study.

Despite the contested nature of a Kazakhstani identity just described, there is a significant measure of agreement on the part of the participants in identifying and articulating key aspects of their emerging group identity. There was a high level of convergence on group norms such as hospitality and ethnic unity, pride in the land and in the state's economic and political achievements. Many also showed a willingness to defend the group and its values as a result of a strong emotional attachment to the group. There was also agreement regarding relevant outgroups as participants consistently described how group attributes such as Kazakhstanis' hospitality, ethnic diversity and inclusiveness and economic progress were greater than those of their Central Asian neighbours and of Russia.

6 Language Roles: Individual Interviews

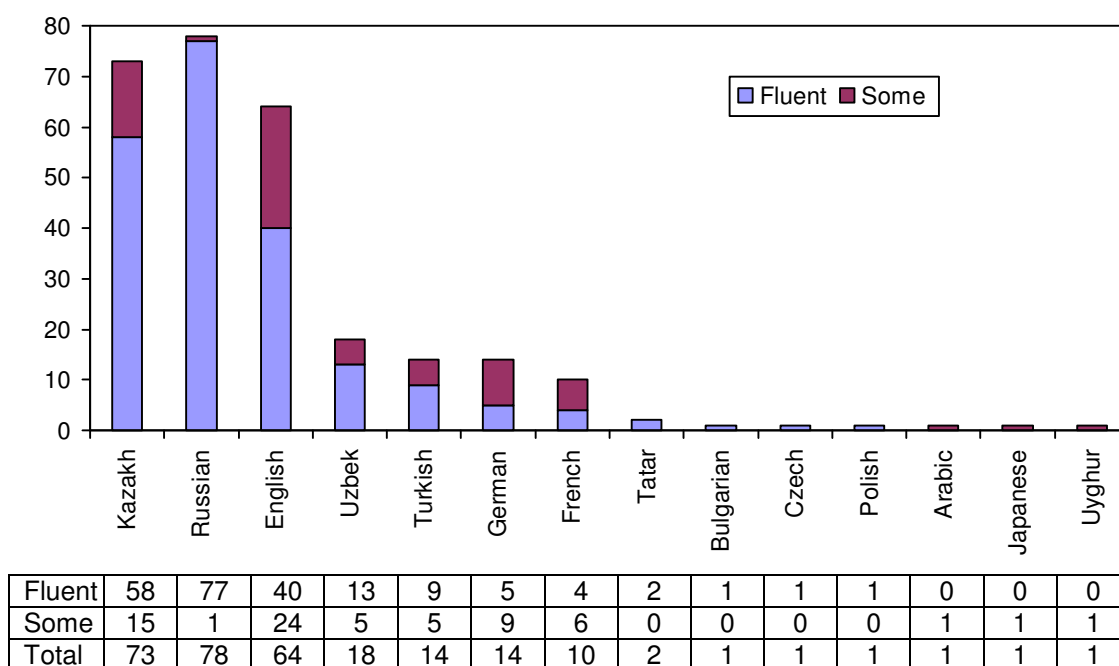
6.1 Introduction

Having explored the participants' understanding of a Kazakhstani identity it is worthwhile examining further the respondents' understanding of the roles played by different languages in use in Kazakhstan. This chapter explores the ways in which members of the Kazakhstani community perceive the use of these languages as contributing to the different state and ethnic identities constructed through the various discourses discussed in the preceding section and the association of particular languages with specific identities and spheres of use.

6.2 Language Repertoires

First of all it is helpful to gain an overview of the language repertoires of the participants¹. Figure 6.1 below shows the interviewees' responses when asked 'What languages can you speak?'

Figure 6.1: Responses to the Question 'What languages can you speak?'



¹ For information on changes in Shymkent residents' repertoires since 2000 see Appendix D.

From this chart it is clear that whilst Kazakh and Russian predominate as would be expected, a large number of the participants claim to be able to speak English. It should be noted however, that this figure is higher than is naturally representative of a general student population because when requesting access to students in the universities I was frequently directed to interview English language students principally because staff wished these students to practise their language skills in the interview context. Despite this, the table can be read as an indication that many languages are heard and used in Kazakhstan and that within this context English is a highly popular foreign language choice.

Also relevant to building up a picture of the language competencies of the participants is the degree of bi- and multilingualism. Of the 79 students and staff asked “What languages can you speak?”, only three claimed competence in just one language (Russian). Also of note is the fact that all except one of the participants who claimed to speak Kazakh also claimed to speak Russian and that one claimed to speak “a little Russian”. This is a reflection of the fact that the ethnic Kazakhs in the study are almost all bilingual in the two languages with just one Kazakh participant claiming not to speak Russian competently and one claiming not to speak Kazakh fluently. In contrast, just one of the Russian participants claims to be bilingual in Russian and Kazakh although a much larger number claim some knowledge of Kazakh. The representatives of minority groups all claim some knowledge of Kazakh and all claim to speak Russian. Table 6.1 below shows the percentages of each group who claim some knowledge of or fluency in these languages.

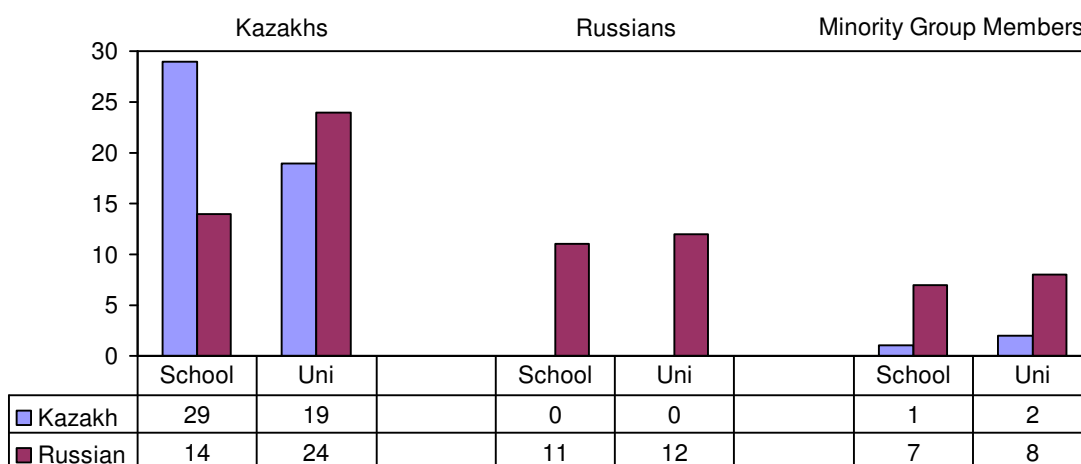
Table 6.1: Responses to the Question ‘What languages can you speak?’: Percentages Speaking Russian/Kazakh by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Language			
	Fluent Kazakh	Some Kazakh	Fluent Russian	Some Russian
Kazakhs	98%	2%	98%	2%
Russians	6%	56%	100%	0%
Minority groups	58%	42%	100%	0%

6.3 Language of Instruction

Students in Shymkent are, on the whole, able to choose whether to receive their schooling through the medium of Russian or of Kazakh (and occasionally of Uzbek or another minority language). The same choice applies for further education. Despite the fact that a much higher percentage of ethnic Russians now claim some knowledge of Kazakh than in previous years, none of the Russian participants in the present study chose Kazakh as the medium of instruction for either their school or university education. Approximately two thirds of the Kazakhs in the study who were asked about their language of schooling studied in a Kazakh medium environment with the remaining third learning through Russian. At university level however, less than 45% of the Kazakhs questioned studied through Kazakh whilst the rest were in Russian language classes. A large majority of the participants from minority ethnic groups received both their school and university education in Russian medium classes.

Figure 6.2: Language of Instruction at School/University by Ethnic Group



6.3.1 Reasons for Choice of Language of Instruction

The participants were also asked why they chose the medium of education they did. Although many respondents answered that their parents or grandparents had made the decision on their behalf they generally went on to articulate the reasons for their family's choice. Nearly a third of the ethnic Kazakhs who answered this question

said that they (or their family) chose a Kazakh medium of instruction because of their nationality, i.e. because they are Kazakh. One student at the Kazakh Turkish University said that she chose a Kazakh education because she's a (6:1) "patriot" and another says his decision was because he (6:2) "was born as a Kazakh." A student at another university says that it is (6:3) "because my father speak in Kazakh and my mother speak in Kazakh, I Kazakh and I speak in Kazakh." A few Kazakh students express the belief that it is a Kazakh's duty to know his or her ethnic language well and that therefore all Kazakhs should go to Kazakh medium of instruction classes. A student at the Language Academy articulates this view. (6:4) "Any Kazakh must complete a Kazakh school and receive a Kazakh education." Some Kazakhs seem to fear the cultural consequences of studying in Russian and worry that they will become Russified and lose their native Kazakh culture. Another student at the Language Academy explains this.

6:5 "we have a stereotype that if you go to a Russian school, it means that's it, you'll forget everything, your traditions and all that and my parents didn't want that."†

However, pragmatism also plays a role, as although he went to a Kazakh language school, the Language Academy student quoted above (6:4) received his university education through the medium of Russian as the Language Academy did not at that time have a Kazakh medium stream.

The sense of duty towards the native language expressed above may be why some participants seemed defensive of the choice of Russian as a medium of instruction. A student at the Language Academy for example, having described how her parents made the decision for her to study in a Russian language class because of their own limitations in Russian due to their rural background, goes on to say (6:7) "and anyway, even if I studied in Russian group, at home I spoke Kazakh and still speak" thereby highlighting the fact that despite studying in Russian she has not lost her native language and is still very much part of the Kazakh speaking community.

A smaller proportion of the Russian participants (just over 20%) said that they chose a Russian medium of instruction education because of their ethnicity. A more

commonly cited reason for Russian respondents and for minority group members was that they didn't know Kazakh or didn't know it well enough to cope with it as a medium of instruction. A number of Kazakhs also described lack of knowledge of Kazakh as a reason to reject it as a medium of instruction whilst a similar number rejected Russian language classes because they didn't know that language well enough. An ethnically Kazakh teacher at Salem school described her experience growing up.

6:8 "Well uh, it wasn't actually my choice, it was the situation I was in, uh, I didn't have grandparents, my parents worked both, so I had to be in a kindergarten, the kindergarten was only in Russian at that time, so then school of course Russian school because I wasn't able to speak, I didn't understand any Kazakh actually. And after school of course it's in Russian because I, I just didn't know any Kazakh at all."

In the present day however, Kazakh medium education is more readily available. For many Russian and minority group participants though the fact that the home language is Russian and that they do not know Kazakh rules out the possibility of learning in Kazakh medium classes. A Tatar student says that he went to a Russian language school and university

6:9 "because I don't speak Kazakh and studying in that language would have been very difficult."

A Russian student expresses a similar attitude, (6:10) "I had no choice, I wouldn't understand in Kazakh." However, despite stating that she 'had no choice' because of her lack of knowledge of Kazakh she has just finished describing how her younger sister had to learn in a Kazakh language class as there was no Russian form for her age group in the school she attended and how it was good that her sister was now fluent in both Russian and Kazakh. Several Russian speaking participants show a similar attitude to this, believing that studying in Kazakh is desirable and good for inter-ethnic communication and relations but that it is too difficult for them to do themselves.

The conflict between what is educationally easier for the student because of their existing language competence and what might be desired ideologically to show

group loyalty which was evident in the discussion of the views of the Language Academy students above (6:4. 6:5) is again clear in the discussion with one of the newly qualified teachers who participated in the study. This respondent studied in the Russian group at both school and university.

6:11 “I tried to study in Kazakh group but it was very difficult for me to learn terms, different, for example, such subjects as physics, chemistry, it was difficult for me.”

“Do your parents normally speak Russian with you then?”

“Before they used Russian language, then Kazakh.”

“What made them change?”

“Because my grandparents, they said that we shouldn’t forget about our traditions and customs and our language and they said that it’s wrong to use only Russian language because they, he said, ‘you are Kazakhs, and that’s why you should use your own language’.”

A number of ethnic Kazakhs though, expressed a different attitude. They said that they chose Russian medium of instruction classes because they already spoke Kazakh well and wished to extend their competence in Russian because of its value as a language of inter-ethnic and wider communication. One student who went to a Kazakh language school and then changed to a Russian language group at university said that this was because (6:12) “now a lot of people in Kazakhstan speak Russian.” Similarly, a student at Miras University says, (6:13) “I know Kazakh well enough so I just wanted to maybe advance my Russian.” In contrast, a student at the Kazakh Turkish University made the reverse decision stating that his parents wanted him to go to a Kazakh school because (6:14) “I speak Russian freely, they wanted me to be able to speak Kazakh as well.”

The desire to improve one’s life chances through making wise educational choices is expressed by a number of students who say that their choice of Russian as the language of instruction was driven by the perception that Russian language classes are still generally better resourced and of a higher educational standard than most Kazakh language classes.

6:15 “I went to a Russian kindergarten and there was a good gymnasium which was in Russian and my parents said I’d get a better education.”

6:16 “I wanted to go to a Kazakh school but my parents said, ‘no, go to a Russian one, the Kazakh group won’t give such a good education.’”†

This last quote again raises the question of actual support for Kazakh education. It is sometimes argued that Kazakh schools were forcibly closed during Soviet years in a move to repress the Kazakh language. However this quote supports the argument made by Dave that the closure of Kazakh schools was also driven by the desire on the part of many Kazakhs to receive a Russian language education to aid their chances of upward social mobility (1996: 161-162). These conflicting views of the Soviet past are further considered in chapter 7 in relation to the linguistic construction of a common political past.

Finally, a number of participants said that they had basically not had a choice because their school or the university they wished to attend had not offered the other language as a medium of instruction.

6:19 “if there had been a Kazakh group, I wanted to join the Kazakh group but there isn’t one here so I went to the Russian group.”

6:20 “When I went school, in our village there are only Kazakh school yeah, and there everybody go, in Kazakh.”†

This overview of participants’ discussions of the reasons behind their choice of medium of instruction shows the ongoing influence of ideology on choices where individuals feel a sense of obligation to learn through their ethnic language and thereby stay within their own culture and promote the value of the language and culture. These individuals equate the ethnic language with their ethnic identity. Often in tension with this though, is the inevitable influence of the desire to maximise life chances by choosing the ‘right’ institution or the language of instruction associated with better quality resources and teaching. For each participant in this multilingual educational setting there are choices to be made and these individuals’ membership of and commitment to the ethnic and state level groups discussed in the preceding chapters can be understood as the starting point for each person as he or she expresses the relative value placed on such identities through the language choices

made. As noted above these issues are explored further in chapter 7 in relation to the media extracts analysed.

6.4 Language and Context: Kazakh and Russian

As almost all the participants claimed to speak more than one language and usually spoke both Russian and Kazakh at least a little, they were also asked ‘When do you use Kazakh?’ The question was phrased openly in this way in order to leave participants free to describe the contexts they themselves associated with the use of Kazakh without specific domains being suggested to them.

Table 6.2: Responses to the Question ‘When do you use Kazakh?’

Response	Kazakhs	Russians	Minority Ethnic Group Members
All the time	5	1	1
Always use both	5	0	2
At home	33	0	0
With Kazakh speakers	13	0	0
At school / university / work	3	2	2
In the street	1	0	0
Depends on the person	26	1	4
Depends on the topic	1	0	0
To people who don’t understand Russian	1	1	2
Occasionally to practise	1	4	3
Never	1	1	1
Total number of respondents	49	10	10

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

A relatively small proportion of the Kazakh participants (just 10%) claimed to use Kazakh ‘all the time’ or almost all the time as their sole language of communication under normal circumstances and sometimes at least, this practice is ideologically motivated, linked with ideas about the linguistic markers of the state identity and appropriateness for the context.

6:22 “Most of them I speak in Kazakh, if I meet a Russian I try to talk with him in Kazakh because he lives in Kazakhstan and needs to know this language and speak in it.”

6:23 “If I am in Shymkent I always use Kazakh language... because everybody here speaks Kazakh and they know Kazakh language.”

For most of these participants though, whilst Kazakh is their principal language of communication and first choice for any interaction they are willing to accommodate to non-Kazakh speakers where necessary by switching to Russian, indeed the respondent quoted above says that he will do so when required. The practice of language accommodation towards even a single Russian speaker is often noted and described as further evidence of the Kazakh people's welcoming and inclusive national character (as discussed in chapters 4 and 5) and touched on by Dave in her discussion of language shift in Kazakhstan (1996: 145-6).

A much larger proportion of the Kazakh participants described the home as being the main or one of the main environments in which they used Kazakh with nearly 70% of those responding to this question mentioning the home or family. One pupil at Salem school said that he used Russian (6:24) "at school, in lessons" but Kazakh "at home." Another echoes this by saying she speaks (6:25) "Russian at school, Kazakh at home." The fact that the interview was carried out in the school environment would then be a reason why both these participants used Russian in the interview context. A student of the Kazakh Turkish University describes how in many contexts her language use varies but at home she speaks (6:26) "just Kazakh." In these and many other descriptions of language use it seems that Kazakh and Russian are largely associated with differing contexts.

6:27 "I use Russian in Academy, in the Academy with friends and sometimes in the street but at home I use Kazakh"

6:28 "I speak Kazakh with my parents, with my friends, but in the university I speak Russian with my group-mates."

6:29 "Um, for example, at university actually I always use both of them because some friends, some my friends they... are Kazakh but actually no matter who they are Kazakh or Russian I speak, with some of them I speak Russian with some of them I speak Kazakh but if I am in my family circle of course I speak Kazakh."†

This participant seems to realise as she is speaking that whilst the home context is always associated with Kazakh, at university her language is determined according to

her interlocutor and the self-correction “but actually no matter who they are Kazakh or Russian...” seems to indicate that this is not purely decided along ethnic lines.

Quite a few other participants also express the opinion that their language choice depends on the identity of their interlocutor. More than half of the Kazakhs and a similar proportion of minority group interviewees and a fifth of the Russians responding to this question stated that this was the case. The fact that less Russians choose their language in order to accommodate to their conversational partner is probably primarily a result of the fact that less Russians than members of other ethnic groups are confidently bilingual. Thus, despite the rise in the number of Russians reporting some ability to speak Kazakh it is still the case that an ethnic Kazakh is more likely to switch to Russian for a Russian speaker’s benefit than vice versa.

A number of the respondents state that they primarily choose which language to speak according to the ethnicity of their interlocutor.

6:33 “It depends. I try to Uzbek with, when I am with my relatives. I try to speak Russian, OK, it depends with such kind of people I communicate, he is Russian, I speak in Russian, if he is Kazakh I try to speak Kazakh or if he is Tatar, I try to speak Tatar, yeah.”

6:34 “With Kazakhs in Kazakh, with Russians in Russian.”†

For others, whilst ethnicity might be the starting point they acknowledge that they also evaluate and take into account the abilities and needs of their conversational partner.

6:37 “If a person can speak Kazakh then I speak Kazakh, if he can’t or it’s hard for him then I don’t try to force him to speak Kazakh.”

6:38 “With Kazakhs in Kazakh, with those who don’t understand Kazakh in Russian.”†

These comments indicate that participants' choice of language is jointly determined according to their own and their interlocutor's competencies and needs as well as according to context, with home and university or school being the two main contexts mentioned as being associated with a particular language.

A number of Russian and minority group respondents mentioned that they generally only used Kazakh when spoken to in that language or in situations such as when on the bus or when shopping or even just in order to practise their language skills.

6:42 "[I use] Kazakh sometimes to practise with friends, Russian all the time."

6:43 "[I use Kazakh] in shops sometimes or on the bus even if it's only a few words."

6:44 "[I use Kazakh] for example when old Kazakh people ask me something in Kazakh."

This perhaps shows a desire on the part of these participants to recognise the changed status of Kazakh in Kazakhstan since independence and to show respect to users of that language although the growing value of Kazakh functionally may also play a part. This increasing need to use Kazakh is also mentioned in response to these questions and perhaps suggests a change in accommodation norms as Russians are increasingly willing or expected to accommodate to Kazakh speakers rather than the reverse as discussed above. A student at Miras University, when asked if he ever uses the little Kazakh he knows, replied

6:45 "Yes, mainly in the bazaar, you need to understand the basic things. In the university too, what people are talking about."

Similarly, one of the teachers at Salem school describes her reason for making an effort to speak Kazakh at home despite having herself been brought up in a primarily Russian-speaking environment.

6:46 “I was brought up Russian-speaking... my husband also on the whole lived in Russia, here now you need to speak Kazakh so at home we’re trying to speak Kazakh so that our children also speak Kazakh.”

This is a clear reversal of her parents’ generation’s efforts to ensure their children spoke Russian, but carried out with the same aim of improving their children’s life-chances and is thus an indication of the alteration occurring in the balance of linguistic capital associated with the Russian and Kazakh languages. Earlier in the interview this same teacher had stated that

6:47 “...earlier for us it was important to know the Russian language and I was born in a Kazakh family... in order to have an education Russian played an important role and I was the first in the family to go to a Russian class and on the whole I grew up in a, well I had a Russian-language upbringing.”

A teacher at the Language Academy also stresses the growing instrumental advantage of knowing Kazakh.

6:48 “[I use Kazakh] for my job. I use three language here because I call and I phone some, if someone called me in different language and I must spoke with them in their language.”

However, the fact that this can be problematic for Kazakhs as well as for members of other ethnic groups is illustrated by the comments of the one Kazakh respondent to say that she uses Kazakh only rarely, who states that she uses Russian even when addressed in Kazakh due to her embarrassment at her lack of competence in Kazakh.

6:49 “Sometimes when someones ask ‘what time is it?’ I can answer, I can reply [in Kazakh], usually... when someone speak to me in Kazakh, usually not to be ashamed I answer in Russian.”

This sense of shame at her own lack of proficiency in the Kazakh language reflects the importance revealed in chapter 4 which many Kazakhs place on knowledge of the ingroup language. This interviewee fears being criticised by other group members for making mistakes in Kazakh and so prefers an identity based on a portrayal of herself as a proficient Russian-speaker. The fear of Kazakh ingroup criticism as a barrier to use of Kazakh is discussed further in section 6.12.5.

In contrast to the salience of the situation and of the interlocutor's identity in determining language choice, just one of the forty-nine Kazakhs responding to these questions and none of the Russians or minority group members stated that their choice of language depended on the topic being discussed.

6.4.1 Code-Switching

Rather than defining their language choice by context or interlocutor a number of Kazakh and minority group participants (five out of the forty-nine Kazakhs and two of the ten minority group representatives who answered these questions) stated that they always used both languages.

6:50 "In my life I use both Russian and Kazakh languages... With every people, with my family, my colleagues and with my friends."

6:51 "I have no thoughts when I use... just Russian or just Kazakh. Whole day, twenty-four hours I use bilingualism, yeah."†

The latter respondent in particular describes his own bilingualism as being so ingrained that he himself is not consciously aware of which language is being used. Other participants also emphasise the ingrained and integrated nature of their fluency in both languages such that they are aware that they regularly code-switch during spontaneous speech.

6:53 "Everywhere I use Kazakh and Russian, in lesson I try to use Kazakh but the Russian words like *eshchë*, *i*, [more, and] are mixed."

6:54 "We are usually mix these two languages."

When asked directly about whether or not they ever mixed Russian and Kazakh in their speech a large majority of Kazakhs (forty-six out of the forty-nine answering the question) as well as a number of the minority group representatives and some Russians stated that they did. As many as eight of the Kazakhs said that they 'always' mixed languages in conversation.

6:55 “Yes, always, even I think the whole family they mixed... I think um, for example, I mix languages because it’s really very easy to express my thoughts in Russian but sometimes you cannot remember the word in Russian, you remember only in Kazakh.”

6:56 “Yes... All the time. It sounds funny. You mix them when you don’t know something, when you have lots of thoughts in your head and when you want to say something quickly and it comes out in a mixture.”†

The latter two respondents attribute their code-switching to the fact that they are bilingual and that sometimes a word or phrase is more quickly retrieved in one language than in the other. This is also the reason given by the ethnically Tatar teacher at the Language Academy who says that he sometimes mixes languages.

6:58 “Yes it happens, that kind of macaroni language happens sometimes. Because when you know a lot of languages yes... and the first words that come are the most convenient, the most beautiful in various languages yes? It’s when you know a lot that’s why we sometimes speak in two or three languages.”

Similarly, one of the interviewees who said that he mixed languages ‘often’, stated that this was because, (6:59) “I’m used to the languages.” And others also attribute the mixing of languages to their fluency in both Kazakh and Russian.

Some participants focused on the fact that being frequently in a Russian speaking environment has influenced their speech.

6:60 “Every time. Because in our country a lot of Russian people.”

6:61 “Every day, every minute... Because I first studied at, went to Russian school, then I went to Kazakh school and I’m half Russian, half Kazakh, I’ve got half Russian and half Kazakh education.”

One of the teachers who said that he ‘often’ mixes languages also mentioned the effect of living in a Russian speaking environment and stated that this had had a detrimental effect on his command of Kazakh.

6:62 “Often, often. Because you know, I grew up in the Russian sphere, I had very many Russian friends, friends of Russian nationality, and then I worked in a Russian school, until, um, I worked in a Russian school for fifteen years, communication with Russians also means a lot, so for me I don’t have enough Kazakh, so sometimes it happens that we’re talking and, and elementary words, like I can even often lose prefixes or sometimes conjunctions in conversational speech.”

A large majority of the Kazakhs who responded to this question either said explicitly that they ‘sometimes’ mixed languages or simply answered affirmatively that yes, they did mix languages. Some of these participants also attribute it to a lack of facility in or exposure to one or another language. As in the case of other participants above, this is sometimes attributed to the language of education being the stronger of the speaker’s two languages. However, mixing is also commonly ascribed to temporary recall problems for a word or phrase in a particular language with no suggestion of an overall lack of ability in that language.

6:63 “Yes, sometimes it happens. When I was doing my practical in a school, I was teaching in Russian and there were many words I couldn’t explain to the children – I went to a Kazakh school, I couldn’t translate for them from Russian to Kazakh.”

6:64 “So, when... I was not married I every time I thought in Russian and speak in Russian even when I was addressed in Kazakh language I answered in Russian... But after marrying, the relatives of my husband they required me to speak in Kazakh language and so step by step I learned Kazakh language again. And nowadays I mix them.”

As well as showing how this participant moved from a predominantly Russian-speaking identity to a Kazakh-speaking one this quote reveals something of the nature of the Kazakh group identity and the importance of the social ties and traditional patriarchal attitudes which inform many of the group norms.

6:65 “Sometimes it turns out like that. When you can’t find the word I want, when you can’t express something, words just come out in both Russian and Kazakh.”†

An ethnically Russian teacher also ascribes her code-switching to problems of memory and lack of practise in using Kazakh.

6:70 “Sometimes it happens. In a difficult situation when, now I don’t speak Kazakh often and I’ve started to forget some words and so I say those words in Russian, I used to know it better, now I’ve forgotten it a bit.”

A Russian student also says that he mixes languages due to his limited competence in Kazakh.

6:71 “When I speak Kazakh I don’t have enough kinds of words to express my thoughts and then I change to Russian.”

The idea of trying to find a ‘suitable’ or ‘appropriate’ word is also often mentioned. This suggests that in trying to express a particular idea or discuss a certain topic accurately one language is occasionally viewed by the speaker as more appropriate (or is more often associated with that idea or topic) than the other.

6:72 “Sometimes, when I can’t find the appropriate word I use Russian.”

6:73 “When I can’t find suitable words.”†

This explanation is also given by a Kyrgyz student.

6:75 “When I can’t find a suitable word to express my mind.”

It is clear from the responses discussed above that code-switching between Russian and Kazakh is recognised as being a common occurrence in the speech of many of the participants whether this is attributed to fluency in both languages or to lack of competence or confidence in one of the languages. In fact, just eight of the sixty-four interviewees who responded to this question stated that they never mixed languages.

6.4.2 Beliefs about Code-Switching

Following the discussion of whether or not interviewees mixed languages in their speech they were asked whether they thought such mixing was good or bad or didn’t matter. Of the fifty-five participants who answered this question a considerable number (23) stated that they didn’t think code-switching mattered.

6:76 “It doesn’t matter.”

6:77 “I think er, I’m like neutral to this.”†

Some students stress that comprehension between speaker and listener is the priority and that mixing languages doesn’t hinder, and in some circumstances can aid this and is therefore acceptable.

6:79 “It doesn’t matter, it’s nothing, the main, it’s understand.”

Talking of the fact that his teacher mixes languages during their lessons one student states that

6:80 “He tries not to mix them, but mixes them... It doesn’t matter because it’s easier for us to understand.”

When asked why the teacher ‘tried not to’ mix languages the student answered that it was

6:81 “Because they teach us in Russian so it should be in Russian but there are some of us who know Kazakh so it’s to explain to them.”

This comment would seem to suggest that whilst language mixing may be seen as generally acceptable in some circumstances it is less so in others; the medium of instruction is Russian and so ‘it should be in Russian’ and the teacher ‘tries not to mix’. Other students who stated that they didn’t think code-switching mattered also qualified this belief. One student argued that whilst mixing languages was currently acceptable it would not be so in the future.

6:82 “Now it doesn’t matter but in the future I think it will have to be taken in an important way... separate languages, Kazakh in Kazakh.”

This would seem to show that rather than genuinely believing that mixing languages does not matter the student sees it as being a problem to be addressed and taken seriously in the future. Such an attitude possibly reveals a belief in the ongoing

Kazakhification of the country with the Kazakh language growing in status and dominance and needing to be kept separate from Russian to achieve this.

Another participant, a teacher, who says that her whole family mixes languages and that she herself thinks that (6:83) “it doesn’t matter” also describes her grandmother’s reaction to the family’s language mixing as being less tolerant.

6:84 “My grandmother, she always says, ‘oh you should speak only whether Kazakh or whether Russian but only one language, don’t mix!’”

The idea that languages should be kept separate is frequently expressed by many of the large number of participants responding to this question (thirty-one out of fifty-five) who said that code-switching was bad. Some of these could not articulate further why they thought that languages should be kept separate in this way but were sure in their belief that this was so despite their own acknowledged habit of mixing.

6:85 “If you speak Russian you should speak Russian, not Kazakh too.”

6:86 “Yes, I hate it when I do it... ‘Cos I think if, if you speak Russian you’ve got speak Russian, if you speak Kazakh, you speak Kazakh.”

For many of the participants the purity of the language is at stake and the perception is that mixing one language with another pollutes that language. There are similarities here with the discourse of language purity observed by Rajah-Carrim (2005), many of whose interviewees expressed the belief that the influence of other languages threatened the purity of ‘true’ Mauritian Creole.

6:87 “No, *chistota*, [purity], I think the clearance [cleanness] of the language is important.”

6:88 “[It is] bad, if you’re speaking Russian you should speak cleanly in Russian, if Kazakh, Kazakh. Otherwise it ends up neither here nor there.”

6:89 “[it is] bad. It’s good to speak two languages, only purely in two; purely in one and purely in the other and not to mix them.”†

The discourse of purity engaged in here with repeated use of words such as ‘clean’ and ‘pure’ to describe ideal language use is also observable in the responses below. As well as the idea that mixing languages pollutes, these interviewees express the view that it spoils or damages the language in some way and this is linked by some to the well-being and standing of Kazakhstan itself in comparison with other countries. Ryazanova-Clarke (2006) describes this theme as being evident in the state and media discourse in Russia in relation to the use of Russian as the state language and Søvik (2007) reports on the same phenomenon in the Ukraine. The importance of the belief in the link between language and national identity is thus once again highlighted.

6:91 “[It is] bad for Kazakhstan, the language must be clean.”

6:92 “It’s bad I think. It will break our language. To make bad, spoil.”

6:93 “[It is] bad. For example in Russia, Russian people speak in Russian... Uzbek people speak in Uzbek language, they don’t mix with another language and we must too don’t mix with another language.”†

This last quote also reveals the importance to participants of comparisons with the outgroups consistently revealed to be relevant in the interviewees’ discourse. This student believes that members of other linguistic groups maintain the distinctness and purity of their group languages and that therefore his own ingroup must do the same in order to compare favourably with them.

Some participants express the view that it is a matter of self-respect and respect for the language (and by extension the ethnic group) to speak the language purely. There is also the suggestion that not speaking the language ‘properly’ may cause it to be forgotten.

6:95 “Of course it’s bad... Why? Because every I think, self-respecting person should speak his own language excellently, beautifully, comprehensibly and purely.”

6:96 “[It is] bad because while you mixing language you forget your own language.”

6:97 “[It is] bad because by mixing the words it can be thought you don’t speak the native language.”

6:98 “Oh, I think that it’s not good. I think we should respect the language and to say uh, pure Kazakh... the best way for us will be to have good Kazakh and good ...Russian and not mixing them... For myself I feel that the respect to language requires not to mix them.”

6:99 “But we try of course, to speak properly because my wife is a teacher and as a responsibility of friends or teachers or workers... of course we try to speak purely.”†

Quote 6:99 suggests that certain people such as teachers are regarded as having a particular responsibility to promote the purity of the language. Similarly quote 6:97 reveals a sense of pressure exerted from other members of the ingroup both to speak the language and speak it in an approved manner. ‘Proper’ use of the group language is thus regarded as a marker of group loyalty and as necessary to maintain the status of both the language and the ethnic group in comparison with relevant outgroups. Maintaining a positive and distinct group identity is important and linguistic distinctiveness is regarded as part of this process. Quote 6:98 suggests that respect for the language implies maintaining its purity and distinctiveness from the influence of other languages, a discourse also described as being prevalent in both Russia (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006) and Mauritius (Rajah-Carrim 2005) as noted above.

It is clear from the contributions quoted above that despite their own language practices many of the interview participants view code-switching negatively. Ideas of respect for one’s native language and of the importance of maintaining language purity are widespread. In contrast, very few participants said that they thought mixing languages was a good thing. In fact only five participants expressed a favourable view of code-switching, and of these, several qualified this view by saying that they thought its effects were both good and bad. One of these, a teacher, states that she thinks code-switching can be helpful as an aid to comprehension for those who may not be confident in a particular language. The fact that she highlights this as a positive effect of code-switching but also thinks that it should not become a habit suggests that she views it as something to be used consciously and not as a part of usual or unconscious linguistic practice.

6:101 “Sometimes it’s good, sometimes bad. It’s good to translate so they understand, it’s bad when it becomes a habit.”

One of the other teachers interviewed who also expressed a mixed attitude to the practice (his belief in its negative effects were quoted above as quote 6:93) also focuses on the way in which code-switching can help understanding and include people from different language backgrounds.

6:102 “It has bad and good sides. Bad – for Kazakhstan, the language must be clean. Good when you have relationship with other nationalities these languages help you just to express your mind and explain what you want to say.”

This quote expresses the tension between the two aspects of Kazakhstan’s identity so often mentioned by participants; that of Kazakhstan as first and foremost the land of the Kazakh people and that of a country and population who are hospitable and inclusive.

The other positive aspect of code-switching to be mentioned by participants was that it helped creative expression, particularly in the context of humour. A teacher at the Language Academy who was quoted above in the context of reasons for code-switching (6:58) and of teachers’ responsibility towards the language (6:99) highlights the way in which it enables those fluent in more than one language to express themselves more fully than if they used only one language.

6:103 “when you know a lot of languages... and the first words that come are the most convenient, the most beautiful in various languages yes?... we play around with the languages, we joke.”

Similarly, one of the students at the Language Academy focuses on humour and on understanding the multi-ethnic nature of the population and culture of Kazakhstan in which many languages are heard.

6:104 “Sometimes it’s very good because we have a lot of jokes in mixture language and it’s better to understand sometimes the culture, the people the population.”

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that whilst code-switching is largely perceived negatively as a phenomenon that pollutes and spoils language or shows a lack of respect towards one's native language it is also recognised as a common occurrence in many people's speech and as a means of creative expression for the large number of the population who are to some extent bilingual (see Romaine 1995: 292 for more on attitudes to code-switching). Because of this it is unlikely that the majority of speakers will ever eliminate the practice from their speech, particularly in informal contexts.

6.5 Beliefs Regarding Choice of Language of Instruction

A further question to explore attitudes towards language choices in present day Kazakhstan asked participants whether the language of instruction at school or university chosen by a student (or their family) affects what other people think of that student and if so how.

Nearly two thirds of the interviewees who answered this question said that they did not think the choice of medium of instruction affected people's opinion of a student. Such participants tended to stress that it was simply a matter of personal choice and that students would naturally choose to study through the language in which they were most fluent and as such the choice would not affect what people thought.

6:105 "No, it just depends on the wishes of the student, the person himself."

6:106 "No, it's his own choice, whichever is more comfortable for him to study in."†

One of the teachers at Miras University expresses the view that whilst it is a matter of personal choice which group to choose there is a widespread view that Russian schools provide a higher quality education and that this influences people in their choice (a theme also discussed in chapter 8). However, there is also a frequent desire for children to study in their ethnic group's language such that for Kazakhs there is often a degree of tension as to which medium of instruction to choose.

6:108 “No, I don’t think so, I think just their own opinion of what group to choose... I don’t know why but even Kazakh people think that it will be better to send their children to Russian schools. I think maybe some, some of them want their children to know Kazakh that’s why they want their children to study in Kazakh school. But when they think about knowledge they try to send their children in Russian school... Students in Russian groups are better, their knowledge is better and in Kazakh groups they are not so good as a rule.”

Another of the teachers at Miras describes how many Kazakh students who go to school in the city are influenced by the amount of Russian spoken and encountered in such an urban setting and culture and become used to using that language and therefore often choose to study through Russian at university.

6:109 “No, I think they decide for, for themselves in what group to go. It depends upon what school they finished, if Kazakh and then they from a village, they go to Kazakh group. But mostly ah, I um, see the tendency that the um, person who finished city school, they may go to study in Russian group. Because in schools they speak Russian, even in Kazakh school – city school. Maybe that is the influence of TV., er, everyday surrounding in the city, they go in bus maybe, their neighbours, they go everywhere, even in shopping, on TV., on theatre, they go, they listen the Russian language and they communicate between each other in Russian even in Kazakh school. So that is the feel from my son, he finished Kazakh school but he go to Russian group at the university.”

The tendency for Russian to predominate in the city means that this language and even a Russian accent are often considered as an index of urban identity. During fieldwork I was told on more than one occasion of Kazakh students who came to the city from a village and then deliberately chose to speak Kazakh with a Russian accent in order to portray an urban identity.

Thus, although a large number of the participants believe that the choice of language of instruction is basically a personal or parental one and will not affect what people think of a student there is a recognition from some of these that beliefs about the importance of the ethnic group’s language to the individual and of the value of a high quality education do exert pressure on those making language choices relating to education.

Just over a third of the participants responding to this question said that they did believe that the choice of a medium of instruction affected what people thought of a student. Some of these participants also describe the pressure felt by some, as Kazakhs, to learn (or have their children learn) through the medium of their ethnic group language. This is expressed by several participants as being an important part of group loyalty, a marker of solidarity and, as with ideas about speaking the language ‘purely’, of respect for this marker of group belonging. The discourse of group loyalty emerges particularly clearly in this context with participants describing those who study through a medium other than the group language as being seen as ‘abandoning’ or ‘leaving’ the group (6:110) and as ‘traitors’ (6:11) who don’t respect the language (6:12). This discourse thus highlights the importance of language as a boundary marker for groups, with an individual’s linguistic behaviour being seen as indicative of his or her membership or non-membership of the group.

6:110 “Society yes [does judge a student according to his medium of instruction]. Well, for example I’ve met the situation and now it happens sometimes that for example if a child of Kazakh nationality studies in a Russian school they say that he’s abandoned, now he’ll only follow Russian, Russian language and traditions, he’s left us and it shouldn’t be like that, he shouldn’t forget it all, he should swap to a Kazakh school. His speech, he can’t even talk to us in Kazakh, he says everything in Russian or in a mix with Russian. And among Russians you meet it, for example, if a Russian is friends with Kazakhs and talks to them in Kazakh... they say ‘he’s Russian, why is he speaking Kazakh with them, let him speak his own language’ or something like that. Or if he takes an interest in their culture for example, from that perspective I’ve also heard Russians talk like that.”

6:111 “Yes. People might think bad things, question why he went to the other school, is a traitor.”

6:112 “Yes. There can be rumours, like, ‘why does he go to another school? Why doesn’t he respect his language?’... the Russians also can make fun of this child, ‘why did he come to a Russian school?’ like this.”

The belief that it is a matter of group loyalty for students to learn through the ethnic group language seems often to be associated with the older generation. Several participants mentioned the fact that it was their grandparents or other relatives who exerted pressure in this way.

6:113 “My grandfather was against [me] studying in the Russian group.”

6:114 “For example, my grandmother, for example she, she um, when I went to school she didn’t allow me to go to a Russian school.”

6:115 “OK, from the first till the fifth class, *oi*, classes, I was in Russian group, then I was, I entered... Uzbek [group]... It’s because of my parents’ choice. Uh, they, they did it because of my relatives, they always said... ‘Oh your children are Uzbek, they don’t Uzb, they don’t know Uzbek’, or something like this, that’s why they had to do it. University – here now, this was my own choice [to study in a Russian group]... because I see the difference between of level of education in Uzbek groups and in Russian groups.”

As well as feeling the pressure of group loyalty, for some the belief that Kazakh will be the principal language of Kazakhstan in the future is also an influential factor. However, the perception described above, that the best quality education is largely associated with Russian medium schools, is in tension with such a motivation towards Kazakh language education. Thus, instrumental motivations for language choices in education are evident in both those choosing to learn through Kazakh and those who choose to study through Russian. Similarly integrative motivations of group loyalty may by some be perceived to be in harmony with instrumental choices geared to maximising an individual’s life chances and by others to be in conflict with such a choice. In Bourdieu’s terms (1991: 230) the degree of capital associated with the principal two languages of Kazakhstan is under negotiation as individuals make important life choices based on their beliefs concerning which language will maximise their chances to succeed in education and consequently in employment as well as on the links between language and group identity.

6:116 “Yes, uh, I have the, I’ve heard many parents saying they would like the children to be educated in Kazakh because of the future, but they realise the Kazakh schools are not giving the same quality of teaching as Russian schools... That’s still true, that’s why they make choice and they give child to a Russian school but they make sure that at home they speak only Kazakh. And many of our pupils of our school in the same situation.”

As well as speaking of the tension described above, which exists between favouring Kazakh medium education for ideological reasons and the perception that Kazakh schools are not as good quality as Russian ones, a teacher at the Language Academy

expresses the opinion that whilst the parents may wish their children to study through Kazakh, many children, once exposed to a Russian speaking culture and environment, do not themselves want this, possibly because of the link between the Russian language and a modern, urban identity discussed above and between Russian and a wider popular culture as portrayed through Russian medium television in particular.

6:117 "...every Kazakh wants to preserve the language. They are imposing Kazakh schooling on children. But the consequences of this are bad. Children don't want to go there. If they've played and been brought up a little, in a Russian speaking environment, gone to kindergarten or watched television, then children don't want to go. And to repeat, even if they do want to go, Kazakh schools, still at the present time, don't teach the genuine culture, the genuine language, genuine knowledge. Kazakh schools don't give genuine qualifications, Kazakh, at the moment. Now, talking objectively yes? Objectively. It's not slandering, it's being objective... the best teachers, best lecturers are not those who finished Kazakh school, the Kazakh department, the faculty of Kazakh language, but those who, Kazakhs who finished the Russian faculty, the Russian department."

A teacher at Salem school also describes the pressure for Kazakh children to be sent to Kazakh schools but goes on to explain her own reasons for not sending her children to such a school.

6:118 "There is such an opinion, let's say right now, many people are saying that children must learn in Kazakh schools because we're Kazakhs etcetera, but my children study in a Russian school because the Russian school has three languages, Russian, Kazakh and English, they teach them all almost the same number of hours, therefore the children have the chance to know three languages. I didn't have that opportunity. In Kazakh schools the Russian is almost disappearing and the children won't know Russian at all and a knowledge of languages – the more languages you know it seems to me, the better."

A number of other interviewees also highlight the fact that knowing more than one language is a useful and respected skill and therefore affects the choice of school and of medium of instruction for an individual. Some thus choose to study through the medium of a language other than their home language in order to become fluent in that second language and thus gain both symbolic and cultural capital thereby increasing their employment prospects.

6:119 “Yes, probably. [You get] respect if you know a language.”

6:120 “I think so, if I know many languages, I will receive some kind of privilege or respect somewhere.”

It is clear from the above discussion that a significant number of the interviewees acknowledge a range of influences and pressures surrounding the choice of a medium of instruction for students. These participants express the belief that such choices are observed and judged by both in- and outgroup members and the individual and his or her family appraised accordingly.

6.5.1 Possible Effects of Language of Instruction on a Student's Character

In order to further explore the influences and ideas surrounding the choice of a medium of instruction at school and university level the interviewees were asked whether the choice of joining one or another group had an effect on the student's character as a result of learning in that linguistic and cultural environment.

Around one third of the participants who responded to this question said that they didn't think that the language of instruction influenced a student's character whereas two thirds believed that it did. Ethnic group membership does not seem to affect the way interviewees answered this question as roughly one third of Kazakhs who responded answered negatively and two thirds affirmatively and this is similarly true of the Russians and minority group members answering this question. However, of those Kazakhs who said that the medium of instruction did not affect a student's character a much higher proportion (around half) had themselves studied in Russian than in Kazakh (less than forty percent), with the remainder having studied in both language environments at one time or another. Amongst Kazakhs who did believe that the medium of instruction affected character the situation is reversed with just a quarter having themselves studied in Russian and nearly half in Kazakh with a significant number again having experienced both as a medium of instruction. The numbers and proportional differences are not sufficient to draw strong conclusions. However the tendency for Kazakhs who had studied in a Russian language environment to be more likely to state that linguistic environment of study did not

affect character than those who had studied through their ethnic group language may be a reflection of the greater need of those students to defend themselves and the language choices made in light of the pressures described above to learn through the ingroup language.

Those participants who said that the language of school or university did have an effect on a student's character were asked to describe in what way this was so. They explained that learning in a Kazakh language school would provide inculcation in the Kazakh character and communicative norms including deference for elders and respect for traditional social structures and authority patterns, and that the same was true of Russian language schools for Russian character, culture and norms.

6:121 "Of course it affects it... I was brought up in school [in a Russian language class] during Soviet times to speak directly and plainly, and that's all, black is black and white is white, and for us, for Kazakhs in general in their character, the national character is such that you should speak so that it is not offensive... they don't speak straight out and it's even pleasing to hear."

Other participants also mention this difference and a pattern emerges in the participants' discourse whereby Kazakh culture is associated with being shy and indirect and Russian culture with openness, freedom and independence.

6:122 "...children who went to Russian school they are more, they are not so shy, they can say something against you... they can produce their thoughts when Kazakh children... in Kazakh school I don't know why, usually it's maybe it's our tradition, if you are Kazakh you should be a bit shy especially girls."

6:123 "In Russian group they are more independent than Kazakh, feel independent. They feel free... they can express everything."

6:124 "Yes. Yes, I think language influences into our culture of life, style of life and uh, understanding of life... For example, um, Russians, mm speak their parents as 'you' or uh, but we um Kazakh people speak um, er, people elder than we, we speak polite."

"- *So that's 'vy', not 'ty'?*"

"Yes."

6:125 “I think yes... it probably affects everything, character and I. Maybe, um in generally Kazakh people con, considered to be um... shy but uh and when you communicate with Russian people you maybe um, become open, I don’t know both in character and in everything.”†

Similarly, a teacher at Salem school states that learning in the language of another ethnic group shows an openness towards that group’s character and culture.

6:127 “Yes, it affects it. For example, if a person of Russian nationality starts to speak Kazakh he starts to get closer to them, he is ready to get closer to them, to their traditions, how they relate to this or that event, he starts to take a closer interest in their problems, he gets closer... It happens like that.”

This is echoed by other participants.

6:128 “Yes. ‘Cos for me, language uh, language is tied to a culture. So if you learn language you learn the culture, and does affect you.”

6:129 “It affects it of course, it definitely affects it. Why do Kazakhs not want to send their children to Russian schools, Russian higher education, education institutions? Because their character might change, might alter, their character might take on a different complexion, a different direction and they want to preserve the original Kazakh character.”

6:130 “You can be Russianised, get the culture, behaviour from society when you study.”†

This discourse of the importance of maintaining cultural norms echoes the discourse of language purity discussed above and is also voiced by other interviewees.

6:134 “Yes, you can become Russified, Kazakhified – take on the culture and behaviour, the mentality of the group.”†

One participant highlighted the fact that taking on the culture of a different ethnic group can cause tensions within the family and be perceived as a rejection of the ingroup culture.

6:136 “Yes, he can become Russified, can take something from Russian people. It’s bad because there can be conflict between the child and parent because for example

she is a Kazakh and her boy goes to the Russian school and he takes something from his Russian friends, from the society that's around and it can influence his characteristic and that he can estimate that his nationality, his people, are wild or something. At home he can talk in Russian but the mother can talk in Kazakh and there can be misunderstandings between them."

Others also mention the perceived negative aspects of such cultural assimilation.

6:137 "It can affect the character of the child. I think that in Russian schools, in Russian schools the childs are, become rough[er] than Kazakhs, hooligans."

6:138 "Yes. Because Russian people are not kind as Kazakh people."

In contrast, others highlight positive characteristics which can be passed on.

6:139 "Yes. I constantly get used to their way of life, how they talk, how they study. They say Russians are broadminded, so I probably am too!"

6:140 "Yes. If a person study in Russian school he or she behave as Russian people and they think as a Russian... They think very well of business and they can do it very well."

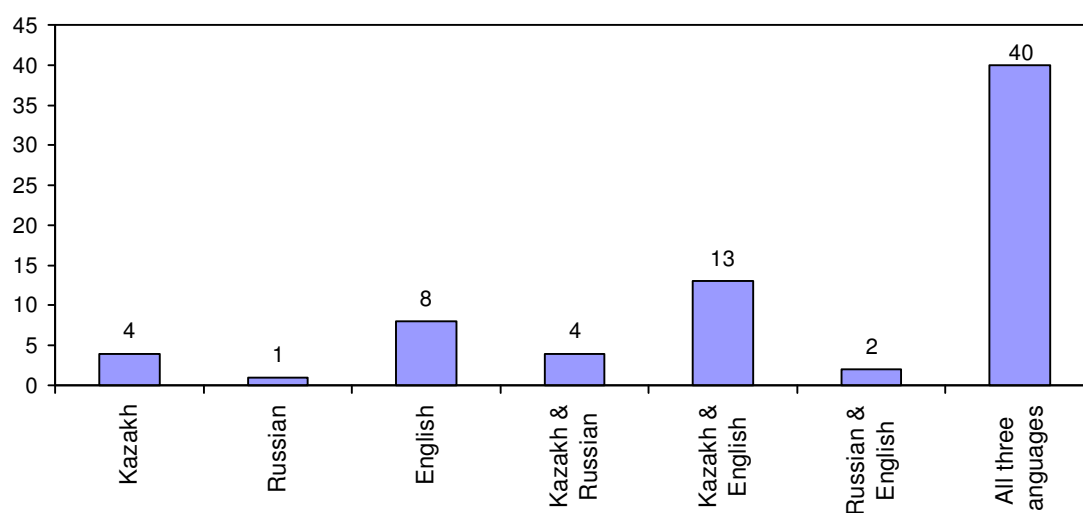
Thus, the majority of the participants expressed the belief that the language in which a student studied had an effect on his or her character. It is generally believed by these interviewees that a student will absorb the culture and communicative norms of the ethnic group associated with the language of instruction and this may, in some instances, be viewed negatively by or cause tension with other members of the ethnic ingroup. The tension between the desire to maintain cultural and linguistic purity and a recognition of the potential benefits of learning through another group's language is further evidence of the tension so often observed between an identity based on promotion of Kazakh group norms and language and one based on an image of hospitality, inclusiveness and openness to the new.

6.6 Language and Employment

Another source of influence on the choices people make regarding languages in which they wish to be or to become competent, which was mentioned briefly above,

is the desire to find well-paid employment after their education. In order to explore the interviewees' ideas and beliefs about this topic they were asked what language or languages were required in order to get a good job in contemporary Kazakhstan.

Figure 6.3: Responses to the Question 'What language(s) do you need if you want to get a good job?'



The multilingual nature of Kazakhstani society is revealed by the fact that very few participants named just one language as being important in order to secure a good job. For example, of the 61 participants who mentioned Kazakh as being important in this context just 4 listed only that language and similarly, of the 47 participants mentioning Russian, just 1 referred only to that language, whilst only 8 of the 63 participants who said they believed English was important singled out that language. In fact more than half of the participants who responded to this question said that they thought all three languages were important for obtaining desirable employment. A belief in the necessity of all three languages for Kazakhstan's ongoing development is also encountered in the media discourse analysed in chapter 7 and is prominent in extracts of speeches given by Nazarbaev discussed in that chapter.

6:142 "First of all Kazakh, then Russian, English... Kazakh, speaks for itself, this is Kazakhstan ...many people use Russian and English is becoming one of the languages you need to know."

6:143 “I think Kazakh but in most high-paid firms or factories they need English and Russian also.”

6:144 “Definitely Russian, Kazakh and English, now you need them almost everywhere. English is mainly for computing but also for translation and for with foreign firms and all that, it’s needed and obviously Kazakh it’s like the people’s language and many documents are in Kazakh... really they’re all important, all important.”†

These comments reveal the belief, held by many of the interviewees, that desirable, highly paid jobs in Kazakhstan require knowledge of both Russian and Kazakh and also, increasingly, of English.

One of the participants quoted above mentions that English is particularly useful in the sphere of computing. The fact that computing skills themselves are increasingly associated with well regarded employment is suggested by the fact that, alongside the languages they considered to be important, a number of interviewees answering this question listed computing skills as necessary in order to get a good job. This may also be a reflection of one aspect of the president’s much publicised 2030 campaign in which he states that by that date all citizens should know Kazakh, Russian, English and computing, including the latter as a ‘language’ necessary for the country’s ongoing development. See chapter 8 for further discussion of this document.

6:147 “Nowadays people must know English, Kazakh and Russian and computer.”

6:148 “Er, it’s obligatory or mandatory you should know English and you should have computer skills... so if you know more languages you have more chance to get good job with high salary.”†

The latter two quotes are further evidence of the growing prevalence of English as a requirement for high status employment. The need for English is particularly felt in industries influenced by or necessitating contact with representatives of multinational companies as a result of foreign investment and development in Kazakhstan. This association in itself contributes to the prestige and status of such a job. The perception that competence in English is becoming more widespread as a skill

demanding by prestigious employers is also shown in the fact that a greater number of participants cited English than Russian or even Kazakh as a requirement for getting a good job with 63 interviewees mentioning English in this context compared to 47 for Russian and 61 for Kazakh. Clearly English is far from becoming a lingua franca in Kazakhstan with Russian and Kazakh in far more widespread use in the workplace as in other spheres of life, yet the fact that so many participants stated that competence in English was a requirement for prestigious employment does indicate the growing cultural capital associated with that language.

6:150 “Kazakh and English... Kazakh because you’re finding a job in Kazakhstan but English gives you a privilege when you’re finding a job, they will take you.”

6:151 “Knowing English I think, it’s very prestigious... yes, if they see the English on your c.v. it will be very effective.”†

From the responses discussed above it seems that many participants increasingly view English as the most important language of wider communication at the expense of the status of Russian within the country. Participants acknowledge that Russian is still in widespread use throughout Kazakhstan but when discussing the demands of prestigious employers as in the present context many describe English as having a higher status than Russian. In fact, where respondents mentioned two languages as being needed to secure a good job, the combination most frequently mentioned was that of Kazakh and English. This is argued to be due to the increasing level of Kazakhification perceived to be occurring and to the fact that English is recognised as a world language such that these two languages are currently seen to both be increasing in status at the expense of the former language of both status and wider communication, Russian.

6:153 “Kazakh and English... Because Kazakh is the national language and English is a world language.”

6:154 “Now, on the whole all documentation is going over to Kazakh, so you definitely need to know Kazakh, that’s definite, and English as well.”

There is some indication though that one reason for the importance attached to knowing Kazakh in order to get a good job is that there is still a relative lack of well-qualified Kazakh speakers able to meet both the demands of the job itself and of the government's Kazakh language documentation requirements described above. The student quoted above (6:154) goes on to state that (6:155) "Russian will always be at the bottom because everyone knows it", which indicates that Russian is still very much needed for everyday communication but that its very prevalence means that it is not viewed as being as prestigious in terms of job requirements as fluency in English or even Kazakh is. A student at Miras University expresses a similar view with regard to Kazakh, that it is not so much necessary for workplace communication as for meeting stipulations regarding documentation.

6:156 "Russian and Kazakh are necessary and English, English not always but you need Russian and Kazakh... Now if it's a good job it's work in government or somewhere like that and the state language is Kazakh, it's important and many documents, all the documents are in Kazakh so you need to know it."

Other students also spoke of the ongoing importance of Russian and quote 6:157 below echoes president Nazarbaev's goals for language learning in the country as expressed in his 'Kazakhstan 2030' campaign (see chapter 8).

6:157 "Nowadays people must know English, Kazakh and Russian and computer... I think Russian language because when we connected with Russia, it's very impor, important uh, language in uh thirteen countries and Russian language more developed than for example Kazakh, Uzbek, Turk and because of I think it's more, most important when you need job."

6:158 "Mostly they say that Kazakh language is... more in demand and but anyway when um, when you are working Russian language is more important still."

One of the teachers at the Language Academy also expresses the opinion that the reality of the employment situation doesn't necessarily mach up to the government's aims or to the published requirements for a particular job.

6:159 "Now Russian [is the most important language for getting a good job]. At the moment Kazakh doesn't have that kind of prestige. Whether you know Kazakh or not they'll take you if you're a specialist... They demand it but it isn't extracted. In

what sense? Because now they take, take people on a local basis not a state one. If you don't know Kazakh but if you're related to me, will they take you? If you don't know Kazakh but you have a lot of experience, will they take you? If you don't know Kazakh but I recommend you, will they take you? They'll take you. That is, that necessity isn't there. It isn't there yet."

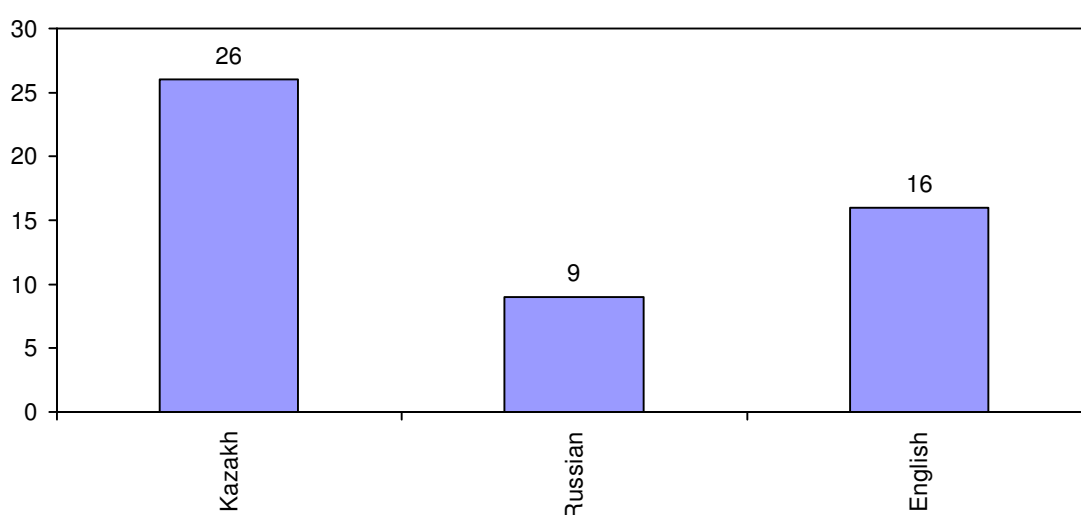
When asked to choose just one language which they regarded to be most important for getting a good job at that time a number of students said that they thought Russian was still most important simply because it was still the language in most widespread use amongst the population.

6:160 "Russian... Because the majority are Russian [speakers] although Kazakh is of course developing."

6:161 "I think Russian the most because everything is in Russian now."†

However, despite the fact that Russian is clearly still in widespread use in Kazakhstan, when asked to state which single language was most important for good employment fewer participants mentioned Russian than chose English in this context and the majority of respondents stated that Kazakh was the single most important language for getting a good job.

Figure 6.4: Responses to the Question 'Which single language is the most important for getting a good job?'



Once again this is largely attributed to the government's legislative efforts on behalf of Kazakh and to the increasing Kazakhification of society which some perceive to be taking place.

6:163 "Kazakh. In this country they are saying that soon Kazakh will be everywhere."

6:164 "Kazakh... Because business papers, documents are always in Kazakh."

6:165 "Now our government, our government prepare, prefer that the Kazakh language must be the main."†

6.7 Perceptions of the Relative Future Importance of Kazakh, Russian and English

A large number of the participants believe that the policy of Kazakhification will continue and that Kazakh will be the most important language in Kazakhstan in the future. Interviewees were asked what they thought the relative importance of Kazakh, Russian and English would be within Kazakhstan in the future. Of the 62 interviewees who responded to this question two thirds (41) said that they thought Kazakh would be the most important language whilst 10 respondents thought that Kazakh and Russian would be equally important. A number expressed the belief that English would become the most important language or that all three languages would be of equal importance but just one student thought that Russian would in future be the most important language in Kazakhstan.

Similarly, belief in the future importance of English in Kazakhstan and the cultural capital associated with that language is revealed by the fact that of the 60 participants who responded to the question 'Is there a language or languages you wish you knew better?' 49 said that they wished to improve their English. Many explained that this was because of the demand for English in employment and because of its status as a world language or because of its use in computing and technology.

6:169 "English is the most widespread language in the world, there are people everywhere who speak it, you can relate to people everywhere in English."

6:170 “English... Because English is a widespread language and an international language.”

6:171 “English as it’s all connected with computers and Kazakh because I live in Kazakhstan.”†

Despite the acknowledged growth in importance of the Kazakh language in the country just 11 participants said that they would like to improve their knowledge of Kazakh. However, when asked about their language repertoire 58 of the 81 interviewees claimed to be able to speak Kazakh and so would not think improvement in this language necessary. Those who did state a desire to improve their knowledge of Kazakh tended to explain this as a result of the increasing instrumental need for and status of the language and its association with the identity of Kazakhstan as a state.

6:173 “Kazakh... Because I live in Kazakhstan, I like this language, it’s a beautiful language and I want to know it and to be better able to fully communicate with people.”

6:174 “Kazakh... Well ‘cos I, I want to live in Kazakhstan... now you’ve got to know Kazakh, especially with me being a head of school and more and more papers come in Kazakh and I can’t really understand, or I go to the meetings and it’s all in Kazakh and I can’t really follow all that’s going on... It’s uh, to do with education you know our department of education, they try to do everything in Kazakh now... I think it’s our regional department who are quite eager on Kazakh.”

The fact that almost one hundred percent of the interviewees claimed competence in Russian means that it is not surprising that just 4 people stated a desire to improve their knowledge of that language.

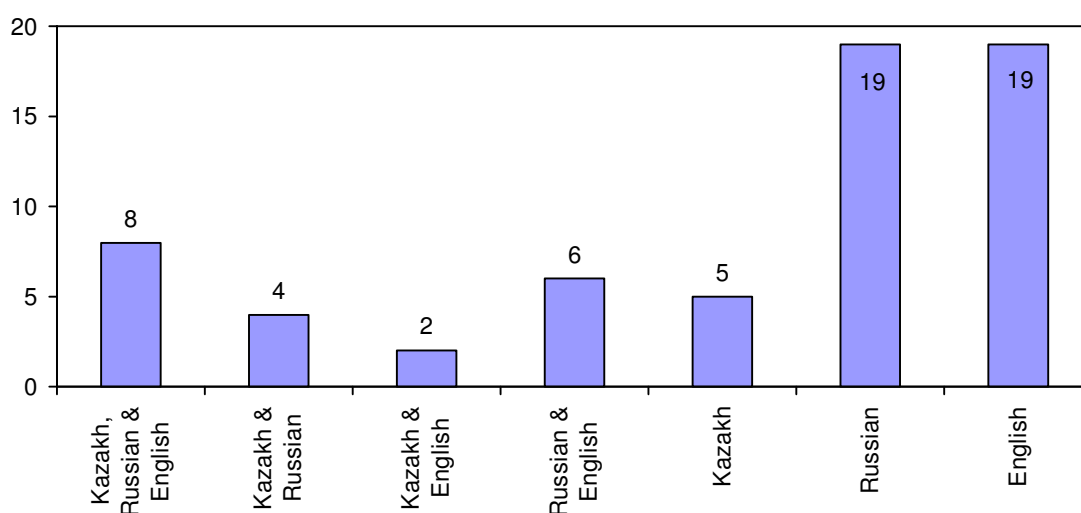
6.8 Spheres of Language Use

6.8.1 Business

In order to further explore the participants’ ideas about the roles of these languages in contemporary Kazakhstan they were asked whether any one language was better than others in certain spheres of use. The first context asked about was that of business. Again a number of participants insisted that no single language was more

important in this context such that Kazakh, Russian and English were all useful for business. Similarly a small number of interviewees stated that a combination of two languages was needed (with Russian and English being the most frequently mentioned pair). Of those who did select one language as being better suited than others for the business sphere equal numbers cited Russian as being most appropriate as mentioned English (19 participants each), with just five interviewees saying they believed the Kazakh language was best for doing business. Of those who advocated that English was best for business the majority stated that this was because of its international status and due to the need to communicate with foreign countries and companies.

Figure 6.5: Responses to the Question ‘Is any language better than others for business?’



6:175 “Now, as far as I know the international language for business is English, English, so for commercial affairs English is the most important.”

6:176 “English is probably better than others for business. Because now it’s fashionable to... take different investments, investors from different countries and they are usually American and even if he’s German then he tries to speak English and it will be easier for them in this common language.”

6:177 “English. It’s international and only Kazakhstan knows the Kazakh language and all states know English.”

It is likely that it is due to an acknowledgement as above of the limited scope of Kazakh that relatively few participants described it as being the best language for business. However, those students who did state this or who thought that Kazakh was needed alongside another language or languages usually explained that this was because Kazakh holds the status of being the official language of Kazakhstan and is thus important in the sphere of business and will continue to be so into the future.

6:178 “I think Kazakh and English. Kazakh because it’s a nationality language and English because it is an international language.”†

A similar recognition of the different roles played in Kazakhstan by the languages under discussion is expressed by another Language Academy student answering this question.

6:180 “I think they are all suitable but English in that it’s connected with computers and Kazakh because it’s the state language so it must be used and Russian because almost everyone knows it. I think they are all important languages.”

The argument used above that Russian is needed in the sphere of business because it is the most widely spoken language in the republic is the most common reason given for their choice by those who mentioned this language, although the fact that many existing documents and agreements are in Russian was also mentioned by a number of participants.

6:181 “I think Russian is better for business now. Because in Kazakhstan people in business are mostly speaking Russian.”

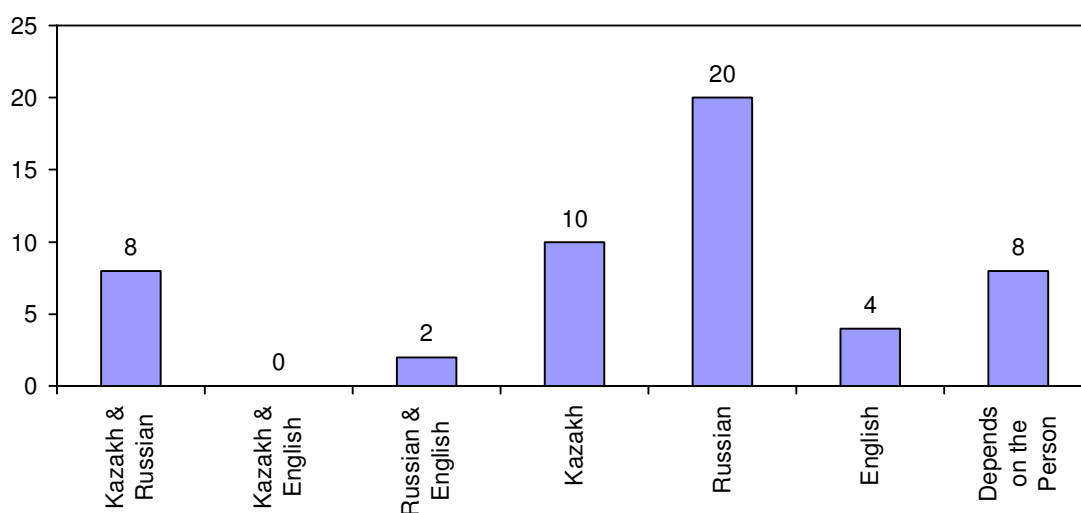
6:182 “Russian. A lot of documentation is in Russian, it’s more understandable than others, it’s rich. Because not all the people speak English but most speak Russian.”†

As well as discussing the factors already described the student quoted above, himself a Kazakh speaker, states his belief that Russian is best for business because it is ‘more understandable’ and is ‘rich’. This is probably a reference, made by other participants too, to the fact that Russian has a more established and developed vocabulary than Kazakh for the sphere of business.

6.8.2 Science

An acknowledgement of the importance of a developed vocabulary for a particular context was also a feature of participants' responses when questioned about the best language for use in the sphere of science. Once again more participants considered Russian to be the most suitable language for this domain than Kazakh. Of those who answered that one single language was better than others 20 opted for Russian compared with 10 who chose Kazakh whilst 8 participants thought that both Russian and Kazakh were equally suitable.

Figure 6.6: Responses to the Question 'Is any language better than others for science?'



One of the most frequently cited reasons given for saying that Russian was a good language to use in the scientific context was the fact that Russian terminology in this sphere is well established.

6:184 “For science, um, er, they say that Russian books are um more understandable now to stu, er, for students. I think that the words of science termins [terms/terminology] is not er, developed in Kazakh.”†

Another reason frequently given for the perceived greater suitability of Russian in this context was that many more scientific publications are available and have a wider distribution in the Russian language than in Kazakh.

6:186 “Because a lot of the publications are in Russian and they come from Russia.”

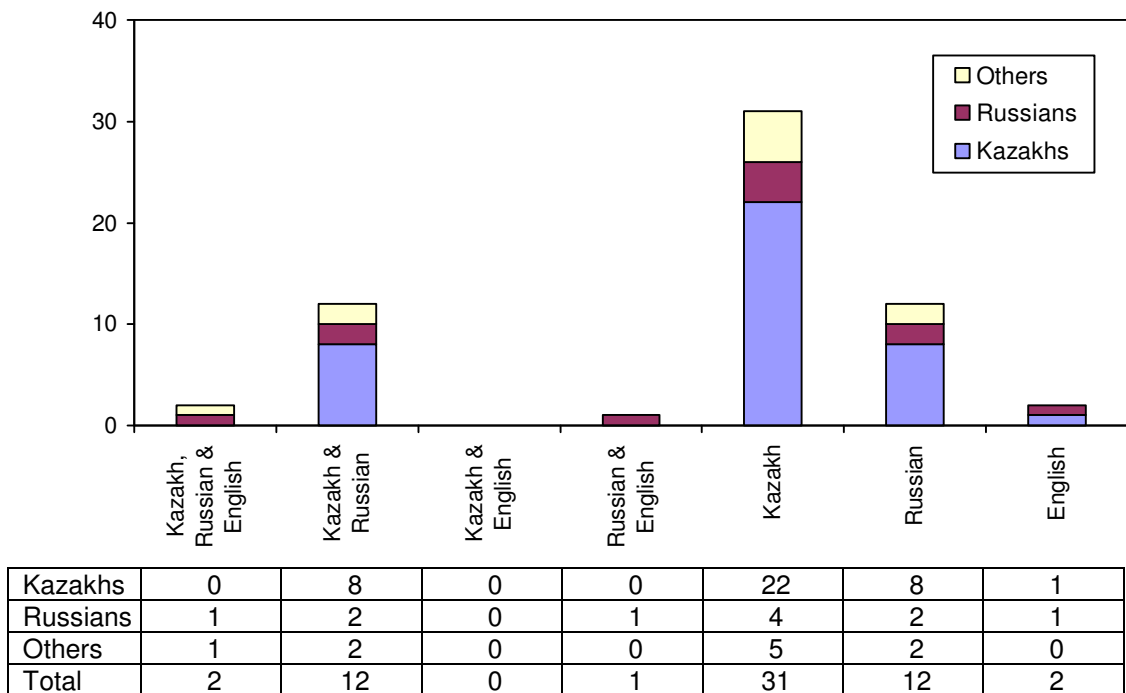
6:187 “Russian, because scientific books are published in Russian.”

Amongst the responses indicating that Kazakh is best for use in the scientific context reasons given include that Kazakh is the language of the future for Kazakhstan and so needs to be used and that it is right to use the language of the titular population in this sphere. Also mentioned is the belief that Kazakh does now possess a developed vocabulary for use in the scientific domain. However, these explanations are given by just one or two participants each and do not therefore represent a general consensus amongst the interviewees. See chapter 8 for more on the development of modern vocabulary and terminology in Kazakh.

6.8.3 Law

Participants were also asked which language they thought was best for use in the context of the law. In contrast with the sphere of science Kazakh was more frequently chosen than either Russian alone or the combination of Russian and Kazakh together. Of the 59 responses to this question 31 were for Kazakh alone compared to 14 for Russian and Kazakh together and 12 for Russian alone. Ethnic Kazakhs were most likely to choose Kazakh alone: nearly 60% of the Kazakhs answering this question opted for their ethnic language whilst about 20% chose Russian and 20% a combination of both languages. Perhaps surprisingly Kazakh alone was also the most commonly given answer amongst ethnic Russians and minority group members as well although a smaller proportion of these groups than of ethnic Kazakhs chose that language (45% and 50% respectively).

Figure 6.7: Responses to the Question ‘Is any language better than others for law?’ by Ethnic Group



By far the most frequently given explanation for considering Kazakh to be the best language for use in the sphere of law was that it is the official state language of Kazakhstan and it is therefore fitting that legal matters be conducted and decided in that language. Participants invoke notions of ‘respect’ for the state language and make comparisons with relevant outgroups in relation to whom it is important to compare favourably in order to maintain a positive state level identity. The mention of Russia in particular may indicate a desire to have laws in Kazakh in order to create difference and distance between modern Kazakhstan and Soviet and Imperial times and highlight Kazakhstan’s independent status.

6:188 “Kazakh, because the state language is Kazakh and for the future we must respect it in society, use it in law.”

6:189 “...every documents will be in Kazakh I hope”

“Why do you want them all to be in Kazakh?”

“Cos we are Kazakhstan... maybe it will increase our patriotic feelings.”

6:190 “Kazakh, because it’s Kazakhstan. In other countries legal matters are in their language and it’s the same for us.”

6:191 “Kazakh. All laws have gone across to Kazakh – we live in Kazakhstan and not somewhere in Russia.”†

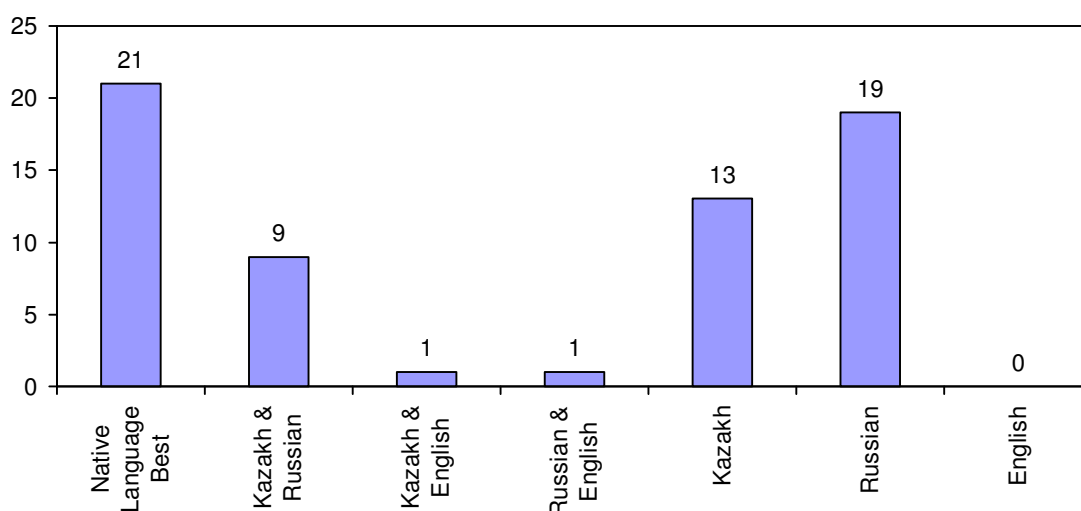
From the responses shown above it is clear that many of the participants feel that Kazakh should be the main language of law in Kazakhstan for ideological rather than instrumental reasons. Whereas in considering the spheres of business and science a large number of interviewees spoke about the practical advantages of using Russian, in this context the close association of the legal sphere with the status of the republic itself seems to influence the participants’ responses such that the status of Kazakh as the state language is considered to be a more influential factor than whether or not it is widely understood or has a developed legal terminology. The fact that participants point to the example of other countries as a model for the language of the titular population being the language of legal and legislative affairs is evidence of this influence. Similarly the Uyghur student quoted above who suggests that conducting legal affairs solely in the medium of Kazakh will increase people’s feelings of patriotism and the comments urging that the state language should be respected also seem to be pointing to the potential nation-building role of the language above its function as a means of general communication.

Those interviewees who argued that Russian should be used alongside Kazakh tended to point to the fact that Russian is also currently recognised as an official language within the republic and that the Russian-speaking population needs to have access to legislation and legal documents in a language they understand.

6.8.4 Literature

In contrast to the legal sphere discussed above, when asked which language was the best for literature the most commonly given answer was that a person’s native (or most fluent) language was best for the enjoyment of literature and that therefore no one language was inherently more suited than another in this sphere.

Figure 6.8: Responses to the Question ‘Is any language better than others for literature?’



6:194 “For me Russian, but for Kazakhs probably Kazakh.”

6:195 “If it’s a Russian school then Russian of course. It depends on your education.”

6:196 “For each nationality, its own language.”†

However, as with the topic of law, some students do make reference to the importance to a country of having a body of literature in its state language.

6:199 “For literature it’s better for each country to use its own language because it needs to be left for coming generations so that it remains in the future.”

6:200 “All countries have their own language yes? And the literature must be in that native language.”†

However, whilst the belief that literature was best in a person’s most fluent language was the most commonly expressed opinion, this was only marginally the case as just two fewer participants stated that Russian was the best language for literature.

Moreover, a greater number of participants expressed the belief that Russian was best in this context than chose Kazakh.

Those interviewees who stated that they thought Russian was best suited for literature often explained that this was because of the rich and expressive nature of that language.

6:202 “Russian, because it’s rich.”

6:203 “For literature, for literature I think the most clearly expressive, the most fulfilling language is Russian.”

6:204 “For literature, Russian is better because it has more words like that the vocabulary is bigger, and for literature you can express your thoughts more beautifully.”†

The fact that more works of literature have been written in or translated into Russian was also mentioned by some participants and one student asserted that Kazakhstan still lacks an independent literary tradition and so looks to Russia in this area.

6:206 “Russian. On the whole all literature is translated into Russian.”

6:207 “Russian. Because Kazakhstan still isn’t fully independent...especially in literature it’s more dependent on Russia, Russia has the most famous writers and Kazakhstan uses this literature.”†

Nineteen of the participants who answered this question said that they believed Russian was the best language for literature compared to just thirteen who said that Kazakh was most suited. Of those who stated that Kazakh was best for literature the most popular reasons given were that it is a rich, expressive language and, more ideologically, because it is the official language of Kazakhstan and thus is best suited for the literature of Kazakhstan.

6:209 “Kazakh, because I read Kazakh literature and find it rich, it sounds good.”

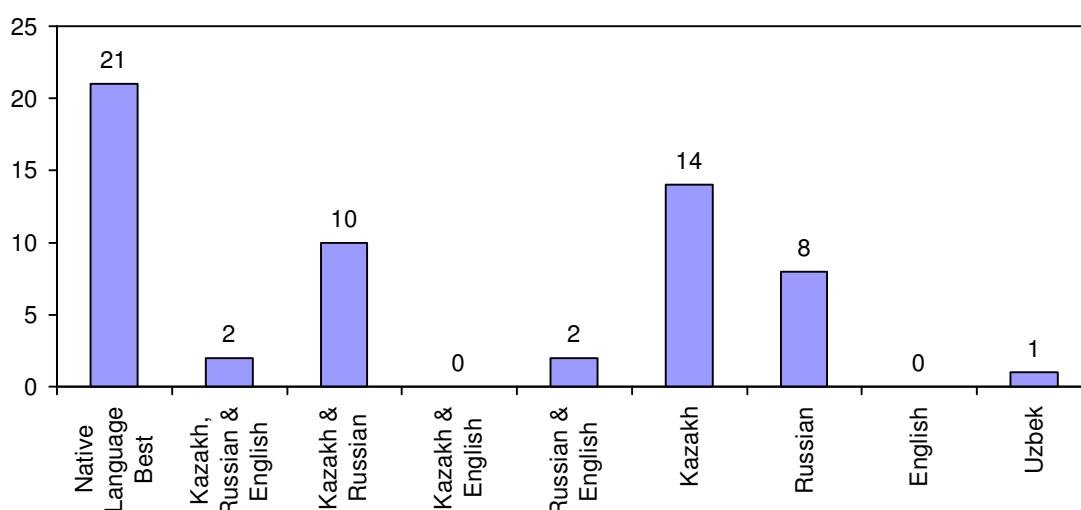
6:210 “Kazakh, for example in Kazakh you find... descriptive words. I mean to describe something is easier in Kazakh, we have more words.”

6:211 “Kazakh. If it’s Kazakhstan, then Kazakh.”†

6.8.5 Poetry

The fact that Kazakhs have a history of oral culture focussed on poetry rather than written prose means that it is worth considering poetry as a sphere of use distinct from that of literature which, as treated above, was understood by participants as relating primarily to prose novels. When participants were asked which language was best for poetry again the most popular answer was that a person's native language was best (21 out of 55 answering the question) whilst 10 named both Russian and Kazakh as being equally good for poetry. However, of those interviewees who did name a particular language, 14 chose Kazakh as opposed to just 8 who chose Russian. Some of those who chose Kazakh stated that they did so because it was right that the language of poetry in Kazakhstan be Kazakh.

Figure 6.9: Responses to the Question 'Is any language better than others for poetry?'



6:213 "It also needs to be Kazakh."

Stating that poetry 'needs' to be associated with the Kazakh language in Kazakhstan shows that for this participant the most important issue is the status of Kazakh rather than a consideration of whether Kazakh is more or less suited to expressing poetry in subjective terms. However, a number of participants do argue that Kazakh is by nature particularly suited to poetry and is more expressive than other languages.

6:214 “I prefer Kazakh, for me it’s better for poetry. Because Kazakh better describes nature and beauty.”

6:215 “Kazakh too probably. People who read poetry prefer Kazakh to Russian.”

6:216 “For poetry I think Kazakh. There are many beautiful words in Kazakh.”

Of those who said they believed Russian was better for poetry some argued that this was the more naturally expressive language. However, for others it seemed to be as much an issue of language competence and comprehension as of aesthetics which influenced their choice.

6:217 “Probably Russian as well for poetry. It’s a very rich language... the words change easily.”

6:218 “Russian, I think.... For me those literary words in Kazakh are hard. I don’t understand.”

6:219 “Russian, because I think uh, Russian, I think that Russian language more effective and more easy understand.”

6:220 “Russian, the sounds are easier, it has rhythm, Kazakh poetry won’t have rhythm.”†

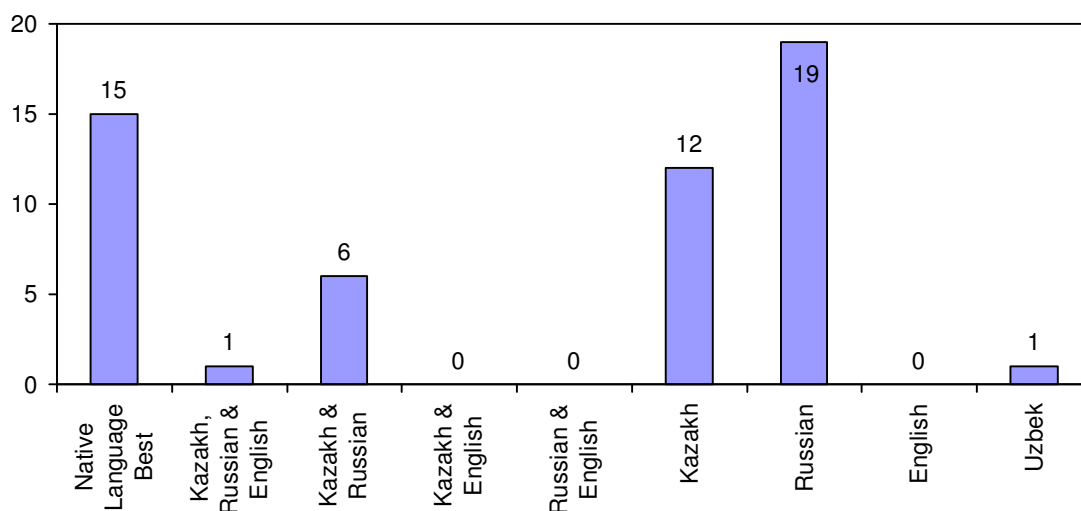
The fact that more participants stated that Kazakh was the best language for poetry whereas when discussing literature considerably more chose Russian than Kazakh may be attributable to the oral history of Kazakh such that whereas there is no established canon of classic novels in Kazakh there is a long-standing history of poetic expression and recitation associated with the Kazakh language and culture.

6.8.6 Philosophy

The next context about which participants were asked was that of philosophy. The most frequently given answer to this question was that Russian was best (19 participants), followed by the response that it depended on the individual and their own language repertoire (15) and then that Kazakh was best suited to this sphere (12), with 10 participants stating that Kazakh and Russian were equally suited to

discussing philosophy. Interestingly, a greater number of Kazakh participants stated that they thought Russian was better for philosophy than thought Kazakh was best (13 and 10 respectively).

Figure 6.10: Responses to the Question ‘Is any language better than others for philosophy?’



Of those who said that Russian was best for philosophy reasons given included that philosophy was more comprehensible in Russian and that Russian was intrinsically better suited with a more developed vocabulary in this sphere and more relevant publications available in Russian.

6:222 “In Kazakh it’s hard to explain something scientific, Russian is more used.”

6:223 “Russian. Because a lot of publications and editions of foreign writers and philosophers are translated into Russian.”

6:224 “Russian, is more understandable, has more terminology.”†

Of those who stated that Kazakh was the best language for philosophy, again, the principal reason given is the ideological one that it is necessary for all spheres of communication in Kazakhstan to be associated with the Kazakh language.

6:226 “Philosophy in any one country should be in that language and in another country, in their language. [In Kazakhstan], Kazakh.”

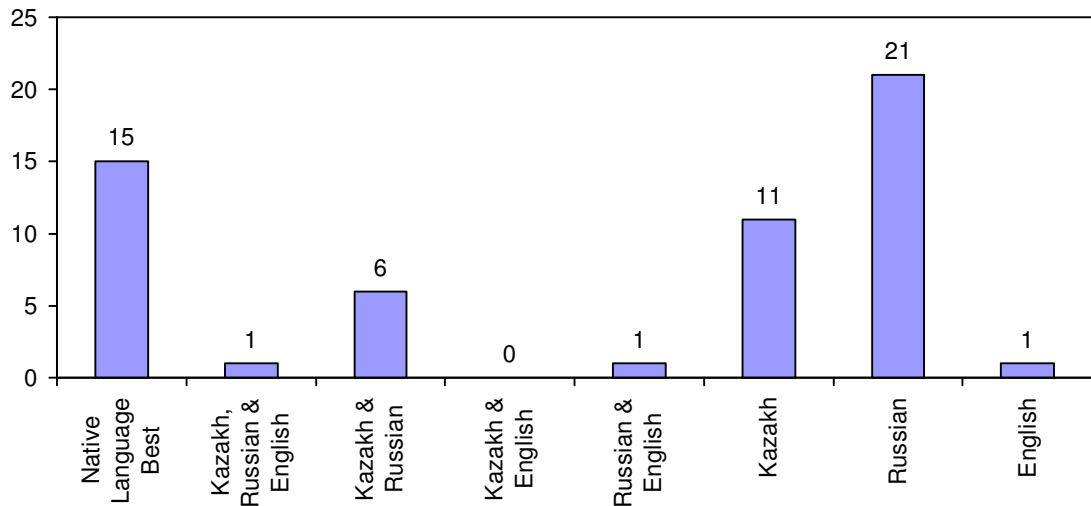
6:227 “I think for our country to develop, then Kazakh... for Kazakhstanis it would be better if everything were in Kazakh.”

It is ironic that the student quoted above chose to state her belief in the importance of Kazakh using the Russian language. This, as well as the frequently expressed belief that Russian is more comprehensible than Kazakh, is perhaps symptomatic of a gap between what is believed ideologically and the competence and everyday language practices of many of Kazakhstan’s urban citizens for whom Russian still has a high instrumental value being used and encountered frequently in everyday life.

6.8.7 Jokes

Following the discussion of philosophy, interviewees were asked which language they thought was best suited for telling jokes. In this sphere nearly twice as many participants thought Russian was best than thought Kazakh was best (21 compared to 11), with 15 participants arguing that it depended on the individual’s language competencies. Of those interviewees who said they believed Russian was better for telling jokes the most frequently given reason was simply that Russian was intrinsically more suited in this sphere than Kazakh although the richness of the language was also given as an explanation by some, as was the greater influence of and exposure to Russian humour on the television.

Figure 6.11: Responses to the Question ‘Is any language better than others for jokes?’



6:228 “Russian. Even Kazakhs... joke more in Russian... On television it’s more in Russian.”

6:229 “Russian, because it’s better, more suitable.”

6:230 “Russian, because of its richness it has a lot of appropriate words.”

6:231 “Russian because we watch TV and they use Russian, for that reason it sounds good that the joke is in Russian.”

6:232 “In Russian. Because in Kazakh it sounds very strange, not, uh, not so funny.”†

Of those who advocated that Kazakh is better than Russian no single explanation for this emerges as being given more frequently than others. A few participants stated that they think Kazakh jokes are funnier than Russian ones or that Kazakh is simply better while others said that they understand Kazakh better.

6:235 “Kazakh, I laugh at Kazakh jokes more often than at Russian ones.”

6:236 “Kazakh, I think that I understand Kazakh jokes better than others...Not because of I Kazakh and I think it’s Kazakh language is better.”†

Thus both competence and value judgements relating to language play a part in ideas about language and humour as does the fact that a great deal of popular television is still in Russian. As discussed above in the discussion of medium of instruction this contributes to the perception that use of Russian indexes a modern and urban identity.

6.8.8 Spheres of Language Use: Summary

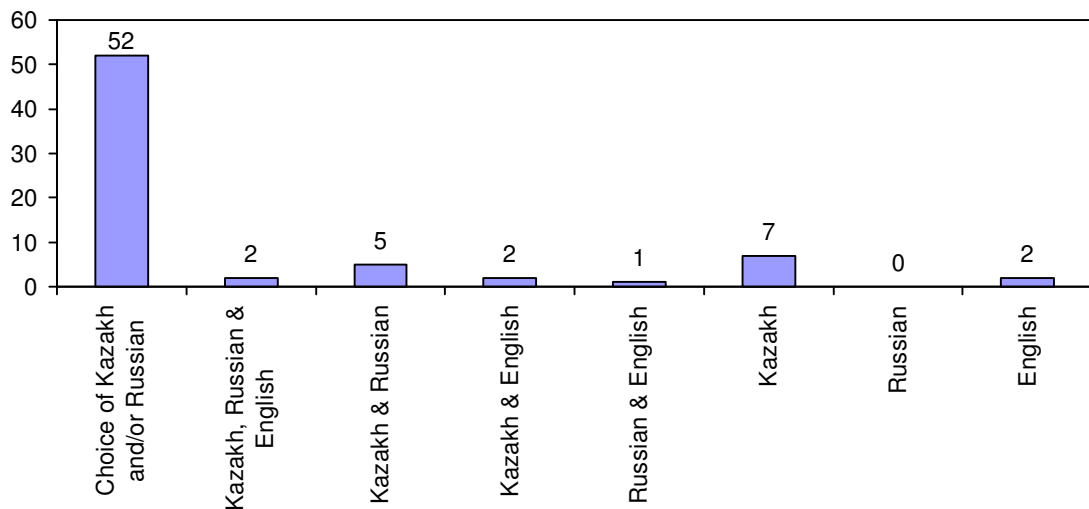
In the discussions relating to the language deemed most suitable in the spheres explored above Russian was the most frequently cited single language in five of the seven contexts. Kazakh was the more popular choice for use in law and in poetry. Overall, the reasons given by participants for their choices reveal a pattern such that Kazakh is most frequently chosen for its role as the state language of Kazakhstan deserving of prestige and status whereas Russian is most often mentioned for its widespread use and comprehension and for its developed and established vocabulary available for use in all spheres. Thus, whilst Kazakh is growing in both use in a greater number of spheres and in status, Russian is still widely used and appreciated by a majority of those interviewed and probably too of the wider population.

6.9 Language Use in Education

6.9.1 Language of Instruction

Interviewees' views on language use in education were further investigated. They were asked what language or languages they thought schools should use as the medium of instruction in Kazakhstan and also what other language or languages should be taught. When asked the first of these questions the majority of respondents stated that they thought that both Russian and Kazakh should continue to be on offer, with individual institutions or classes within a particular school or university choosing to teach in one or the other of these languages. As many as 52 of the 71 interviewees answering this question expressed this opinion. This view was thus clearly dominant and the next most frequently expressed answer, that Kazakh should be the only language of instruction, was given by just 7 participants whilst 5 participants stated that all schools should teach through both Russian and Kazakh.

Figure 6.12: Responses to the Question ‘What language(s) do you think schools should use to teach?’



One of the most frequently given reasons for the opinion that there should be a choice of medium of instruction for Kazakhstani citizens is that there should be freedom of choice and that such choice is fitting for a free, independent and democratic country.

6:238 “[It’s an] independent country and there should be respect for every person, personal choice.”

6:239 “I think there must be choice... because if we build democratic and humanitarian society er, there always must be choice.”†

Another reason given is that people should be given the opportunity to study through the medium of their native, that is ethnic, language.

6:241 “Both, and not only Russian and Kazakh, there are schools for example teaching Uzbek language, Uzbek schools. I think every person must learn their own native language.”

It is argued that all ethnic groups should be offered the opportunity to study in their ethnic language in order to preserve harmonious group relations in Kazakhstan. Thus

the belief in tolerance and in harmony between ethnic groups is once more presented as playing an important and valued part in the construction of a state level identity.

6:242 “Both, there should be a choice. Because different ethnic groups live in Kazakhstan, so there are not just Russian but also Uzbek, Uighur, Arab schools in Kazakhstan, so if you cancelled one there would be disrespect to this nationality, to this people, and there might be misunderstandings among the society.”

6:243 “You can’t tell people, ‘You must study in this language’. Kazakhstan is a multi-ethnic country so we need to preserve the traditions and languages of all peoples.”

As well as the need for students to be able to study in their ethnic language, one student in particular also highlights the instrumental value of Russian and the importance of not losing that language.

6:244 “I think it’s right [that there is a choice] because Russian language is for Russian people and Kazakh language is for Kazakh people, I think it’s good there is a choice. For example if we have only Kazakh schools we will forget about Russian language... We must keep our language and Russian language... We mustn’t forget Russian language ...first of all we must know Kazakh language and second Russian because Russian is our international language.”

When asked about whether code-switching was to be avoided or not, amongst those who had reservations about the acceptability of the practice, one participant expressed the opinion that whilst it was presently acceptable, in the future it would not be and the purity of languages would be insisted on. A similar, transitional view is expressed in the present context by several students who believe that there should be a choice of medium of instruction for the present and near future but that beyond this Kazakh should be the sole language of education.

6:245 “For now it’s right [that there is a choice] but in the future it must change and there must be only Kazakh groups”

“When in the future?”

“Maybe in five or ten years.”

6:246 “It’s OK now but in the future it must be only Kazakh schools – when 90% of Kazakhs speak Kazakh.”

This view is another example of the tension often encountered between ideological beliefs about the importance of raising the status and spread of Kazakh in Kazakhstan and belief in or acceptance of the instrumental value of maintaining the use of Russian in the republic. This friction between what might be thought to be desirable and what is practical is also revealed in the response to this question of one of the Miras University students, who seems to realise the conflicts within her own point of view.

6:247 “It’s good that we choose ourselves, because when you force a person to do something he doesn’t, although we need to do everything in Kazakh so that everyone will know it.”

The tension between an ideology of Kazakhification and one of tolerance of and protection for expressions of ethnic group diversity in Kazakhstan is also evident in government discourse and is discussed further in chapter 8.

For those who said that all schools should use Kazakh the reason given was generally ideological.

6:248 “Kazakh. Because it’s Kazakhstan.”

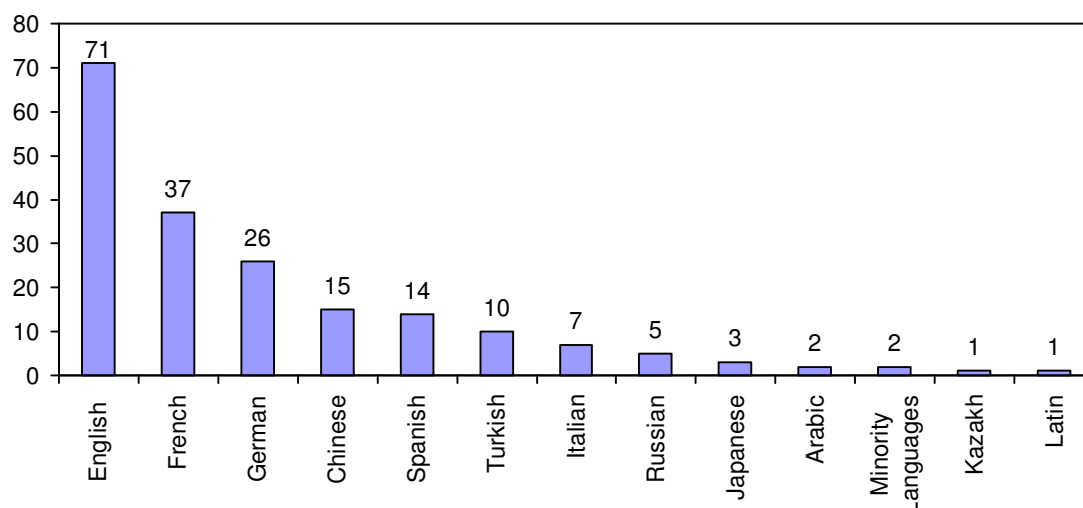
From the participants’ responses to this question (as to a number of the questions discussed above dealing with the best language for various domains of use) it is clear that the majority of the interviewees see a continuing role for Russian within Kazakhstan. This is linked to the instrumental values of that language and to the popular conception of Kazakhstan as a harmonious multi-ethnic state with good intergroup relations and recognition of the language and culture of all groups resident in the republic.

6.9.2 Other Languages Taught

When asked what other languages should be taught within the education system a wide variety of languages were suggested. However, English was by far the most popular choice with almost every participant who responded to this question stating

that English should be taught in Kazakhstan's schools (71 of 73 respondents). Other frequently named languages were French (37 participants) and German (26 participants) whilst Chinese, Spanish and Turkish were also mentioned by a number of interviewees (15, 14 and 10 respectively). Only 2 participants expressed the view that the minority languages of Kazakhstan should be routinely taught as second languages.

Figure 6.13: Responses to the Question 'What other languages should be studied?'



The reasons given by participants for the need to teach English, French and German in Kazakhstan generally related to their importance as world languages spoken in economically developed countries seen as investors (and employers) in Kazakhstan.

6:249 “English and maybe French, they are used for communication between countries.”

6:250 “...we understand the climate, the nature, and globalisation that the future is in the English language so for us English is preferable... We know that most of all books are in English, most of all the sciences, most of all, books are now appearing about economics, about politics. This is riches for us, this is wealth and we mustn't ignore it, we must receive the riches.”

This quote demonstrates the interviewee's understanding of the instrumental importance of English in particular and, in Bourdieu's terms, of the link between linguistic and economic capital.

Chinese was chosen by some because of the size of China, which borders Kazakhstan in the east, and because of its growing economic influence.

6:251 "In future I think Chinese because 1 of 5 people in the world is Chinese and then Chinese economy... grows every day, they will affect in future to world, not to Kazakhstan, to world and then we are now neighbours, it's important."

Those who said that Turkish should be learnt mentioned the cultural and linguistic links between Kazakhstan and Turkey.

6:252 "...because we are connected to Asia... and the language is quite similar to Kazakh so it's easy."

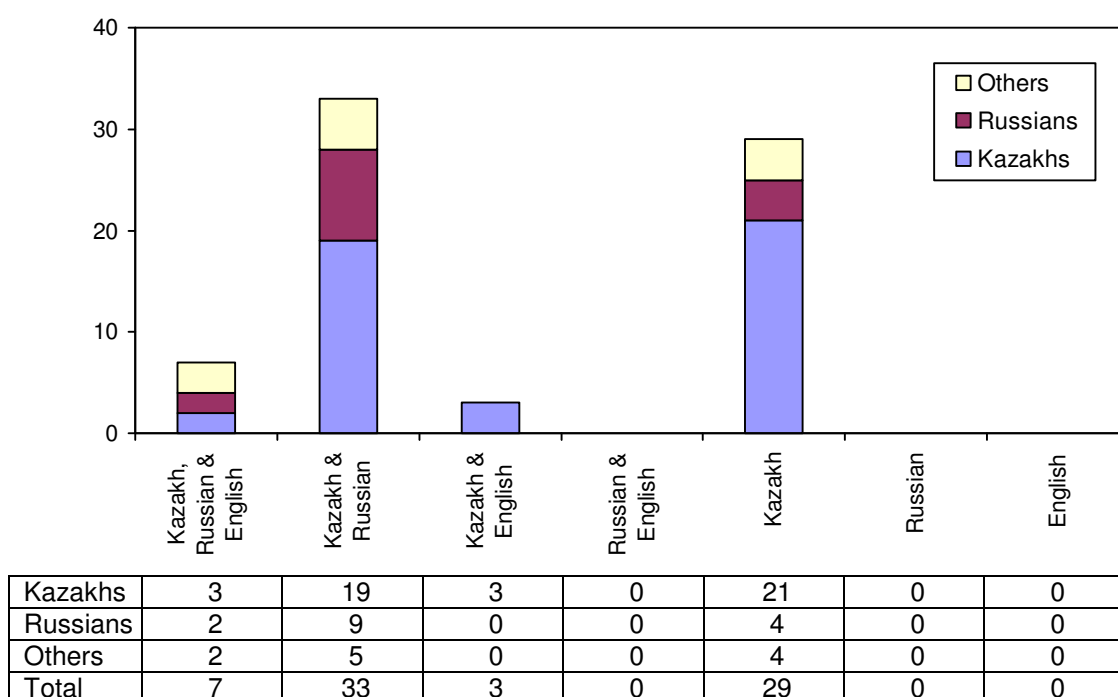
The reasons given for the foreign languages suggested as appropriate for study in Kazakhstan can therefore be seen to be largely instrumental in nature with the importance of particular languages in economics and employment and as a means of communication in a wider sphere being the most popular reasons given for choosing a language or languages.

6.10 Official Language(s) in Kazakhstan

Having discussed language use in education participants were also asked which language or languages they thought should be granted official status in Kazakhstan. The most frequently given response to this question was that both Kazakh and Russian should have official status, with 33 of the 72 responses to the question indicating this viewpoint. However, only slightly fewer participants expressed a belief that Kazakh alone should be granted official status (29 respondents). In addition to these two viewpoints a small number thought that Kazakh, Russian and English or that Kazakh and English should be official languages in the republic (7 and 3 interviewees respectively). As well as the fact that a similar number of all

participants favoured Russian and Kazakh as both being official languages as those who advocated recognition of just the Kazakh language, it is interesting to note that similar numbers of ethnic Kazakhs supported each of these options with 19 Kazakhs proposing both languages be recognised and 21 just Kazakh. Also, minority group representatives' responses were fairly evenly split between these two options. In contrast, more than twice as many ethnic Russians supported the idea of both languages being officially recognised as advocated just Kazakh.

Figure 6.14: Responses to the Question 'What should be the official language(s) of Kazakhstan?' by Ethnic Group



That so many participants expressed the opinion that Kazakh alone should be granted official status in Kazakhstan reflects the perceived importance of a state's official language or languages as an identity marking function (see Søvik 2007: 115 for a discussion of this issue in Ukraine). That supporting this option does not necessarily entail a wish to eradicate Russian from use within the republic is made clear by the responses discussed above concerning the importance and acceptance of Russian in various communicative spheres and in education. Similarly, although all the ethnic Kazakhs who said that only Kazakh should be an official language speak that language none of the Russians who expressed this view claimed fluency in it and

only 2 of the 4 minority group members advocating this option said that they spoke Kazakh. Nor is it the case that those ethnic Kazakhs who argued that both languages should be granted official status did so because of a lack of knowledge of the Kazakh language, as only 1 of the 19 Kazakhs expressing this view claimed not to speak Kazakh.

The differing viewpoints expressed in response to this question are then, not purely or primarily motivated by individual language competencies or practices but by beliefs about the importance of a state's official language or languages as an indication of its identity. Many of those advocating that just Kazakh should be granted official status did so on the basis that it is the language of the eponymous ethnic group of the republic and as such deserves recognition and protection. As part of this some also express a nationalising view that independent Kazakhstan should promote the Kazakh people and its language and culture above other ethnic groups and their respective languages and cultures.

6:253 "Kazakh. In the country of Kazakhstan, Kazakhs are the root population."

6:254 "I think... if our state wants to reach a real government, a real independent government, I think only Kazakh."

6:255 "Kazakh. It's the Kazakh state, you must know it, study it."†

These arguments are reminiscent of those relating to the belief that Kazakhstan's laws should be in Kazakh. Once again the use of Kazakh is seen as being a mark of independence as distinct from the country's past under the aegis of Imperial Russia or the Soviet Union.

In contrast to the 'Kazakh only' view, many of those who argued that both Kazakh and Russian should be given official status stated that this was an important recognition of the multi-ethnic nature of Kazakhstan and of the fact that Russian is the first language of a large proportion of the republic's citizens. A more instrumentally motivated stance, that Russian is important to Kazakhstan due to its status as an international language, was also voiced by some. This highlights the

recurring tension between ideologically motivated beliefs in Kazakhification and pragmatic recognition of the instrumental importance of Russian in so many spheres.

6:257 “Kazakh and Russian, because our population is half Kazakh and there are another group of nations, I think we must take into consideration their rights.”

6:258 “Kazakh and Russian. Because um, um, when you work with other people, ... with Russian people, Korean people, I think you must know this [Russian] language.”

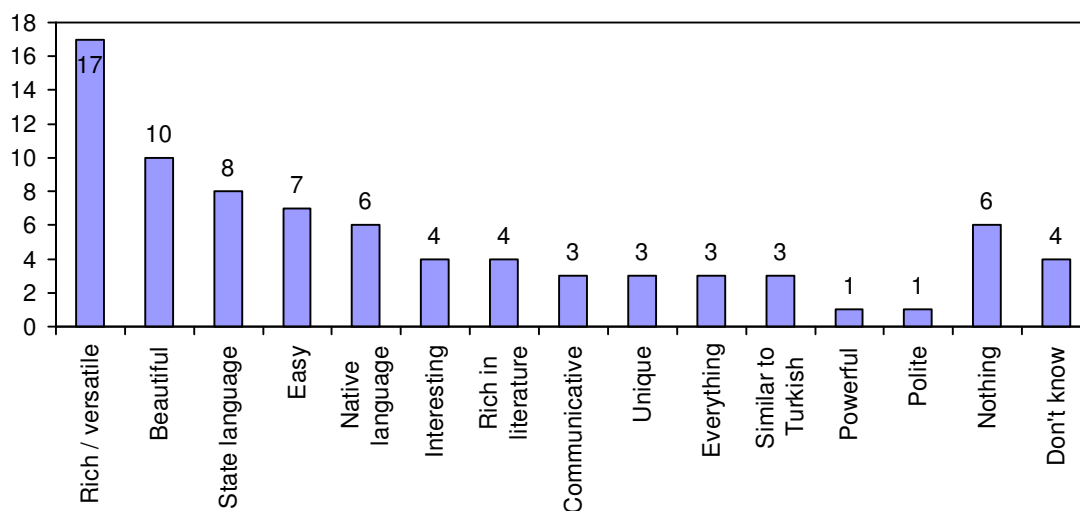
6:259 “I think Kazakh language, of course Russian, Russian has its position, the language of international communication.”

6.11 Language Beliefs

In order to further explore participants’ thoughts about the three languages being considered they were asked what was good or what they liked about each of them. Although there was a wide variety of responses for each of the languages, certain aspects were mentioned by a relatively high number of participants.

6.11.1 Kazakh

Figure 6.15: Responses to the Question ‘What is good about the Kazakh language?’



The most frequently given response regarding Kazakh was that it is a rich and versatile language with 17 of the 69 participants who answered this question making reference to this positive aspect of the language. The next most frequently given response was that it is beautiful and sounds good (10 mentions). Both of these answers reflect an aesthetic judgement of the language.

6:260 “I am proud for the language of Kazakh people, literary language is very beautiful. When I um, listen to Kazakh um, sayings or proverbs or literary Kazakh language, speech it um, I like it, because it’s very beautiful and deep language.”

6:261 “Kazakh is rich and beautiful and it is the future.”

6:262 “A lot of words, it has a lot of words, Kazakh language, and uh, phrases, a lot of proverbs, sayings... songs, a lot of songs, folk songs and many things.”†

Responses such as these reveal the fact that many participants associate the Kazakh language principally with a cultural or creative setting. They appreciate it for its aesthetic value in songs and proverbs and focus on its richness and versatility for such purposes rather than on its value in everyday communication or in high status domains. However, the next most frequently given response regarding the Kazakh language, which is exemplified in the quote above stating that Kazakh is ‘the future’, is that Kazakh is the state language and as such is important within Kazakhstan. In contrast to those oriented to the creative value of Kazakh, these responses are oriented more to an ideological, status based appraisal of the language.

6:264 “This is, is the language of Kazakh people, this is the state language.”

6:265 “People live in Kazakhstan they should know Kazakh language. If I were the president I would, I would make people to know Kazakh language very well.”

6:266 “Because we live in Kazakhstan and so we should know the Kazakh language.”†

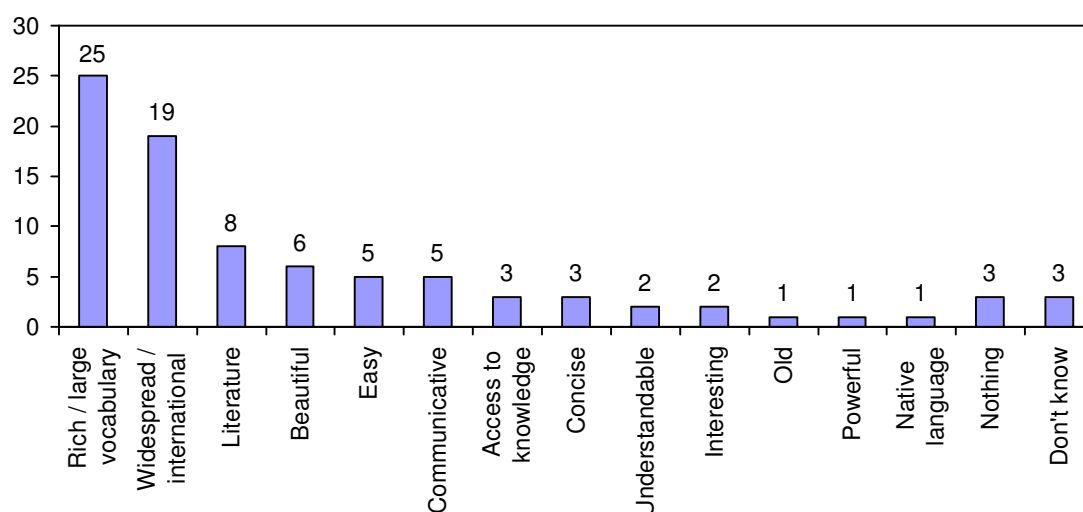
In fact the participants quoted above do not actually answer the question put to them, ‘What is good about the Kazakh language?’ so much as defend its right to being the most prominent language in the republic and the consequent necessity of knowing it.

Thus at the moment Kazakh is valued for aesthetic and for ideological reasons far more than for its instrumental value. However, if the ideology of Kazakhification becomes dominant then the instrumental value of the language will consequently grow and it is on this basis that many interviewees are making current choices in favour of learning and using Kazakh.

6.11.2 Russian

As with Kazakh, when asked what was good about the Russian language the most frequently given response (mentioned by 25 out of 67 participants) was that it was a rich language. Many made reference to the large vocabulary available in Russian. However, almost as many interviewees (22) referred to the value of Russian as an international language which is in widespread use and knowledge of which gives access to many resources.

Figure 6.16: Responses to the Question ‘What is good about the Russian language?’



6:268 “Russian language... the majority of science books and literature in our country were in Russian and it, it just opens us the great gates of science.”

6:269 “Russian language I can speak in fifteen republics, everybody knows Russian.”

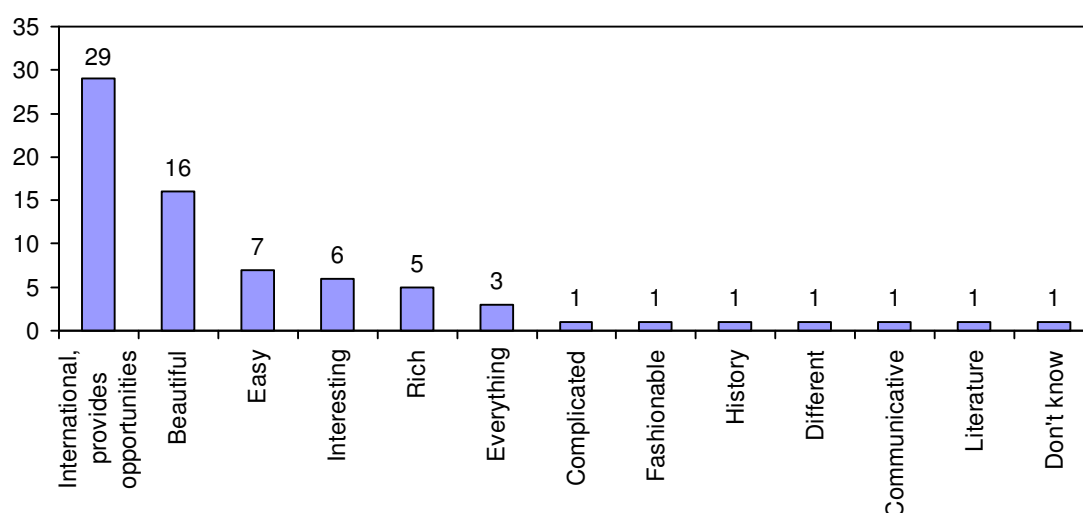
6:270 “Russian language and literature are very rich and sounds very beautiful and it is an international language.”†

These responses show that whilst many participants appreciate Russian for expressive and aesthetic reasons a similar number of interviewees focus on the instrumental value of the language as a means of wider communication and of access to cultural and educational resources in particular.

6.11.3 English

English is also valued for primarily instrumental reasons. By far the most frequent responses from participants when asked about this language were that it was good to know an international language and that knowledge of English was helpful in gaining employment and facilitated travel abroad. Nearly half of the 62 participants who responded to the question expressed the value of English in these terms.

Figure 6.17: Responses to the Question ‘What is good about the English language?’



6:273 “If you go to another country, to abroad, for example, if you go to China, you don’t speak Chinese, you can speak English language, they will understand.”

6:274 “Because um, now there is this many offices which need an interpreter, English interpreter.”

6:275 “First it’s important for your career promotion, then... it’s international... all people in the world can speak English, rather than Russian or something like that.”†

As well as the belief exemplified by the quotes above in the importance of English as a global language and language of business and employment a relatively high number of participants (16 out of 62 answering this question) do also state that they appreciate English as a beautiful language. One participant, a teacher at the Kazakh Turkish University, also explains that English is popular with young people because of its association with American popular culture and music and as such some use of English has come to reference familiarity with such music and being fashionable.

6:277 "...especially our young generation uses English. They mix English sometimes with Russian... maybe it's they want to be more modern, more fashionable. They like to use, for example, English idioms, clichés."

"Why do you think it's fashionable?"

"Um, because they listen to the music and all music especially in America. They listen to American music, pop songs. They like American singers."

From the above discussion of what is good about the Kazakh, Russian and English languages it has emerged that participants value Kazakh for its association with the literature and culture of that ethnic group and many wish to see its status consolidated and value its current importance as the official state language. English and Russian are primarily valued as means of communication in a wider sphere and for the access they provide to information and employment opportunities. From the comments of the participant quoted above it may also be that English is associated with a younger generation and with Western cultural values.

6.12 Speakers of Kazakh, Russian and English

In order to further explore the associations pertaining to each of the languages being discussed interviewees were also asked what sort of person was most likely to speak Kazakh, Russian and English respectively.

6.12.1 'What sort of person is most likely to speak Kazakh?'

By far the most frequently given response when asked about the Kazakh language was that the most likely person to speak that language is someone from a village or

rural area. Of the 69 interviewees who answered this question 43 gave such a response. The next most commonly given answer was that Kazakh was most likely to be spoken by an older person, with 17 interviewees giving this response. It is clear from such replies that despite the growing status of Kazakh many participants still strongly associate the language with rural life and the older generation rather than with speakers and domains accorded high status in contemporary Kazakhstan.

Table 6.3: Responses to the Question ‘What sort of person is most likely to speak Kazakh?’

Response	Number of Respondents Mentioning
People in villages	43
Older people	17
Nationalists/ patriots	7
Kazakhs	5
Young people	5
Traditionalists	4
Those who study in Kazakh	3
People in the South	2
Educated people	2
Those who don't want Russians to understand	1
Those who speak Kazakh at home	1
People in the bazaar	1
Business people	1
Total number of respondents	69

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

6:278 “Old people speak Kazakh more. [People] from the village.”

6:279 “Old people speak Kazakh and people who live in villages.”

Many participants directly contrast this with Russian which they associate with residents of the city and with younger people.

6:281 “Of course villagers, um elder people [speak Kazakh]... But mostly in towns people speak Russian.”

6:282 “On the whole, elderly people [speak Kazakh].”
“Contemporary people, young people [speak Russian].”

6:283 “Old people, for example [speak Kazakh], young people, they speak Russian often, old people, they speak their native language.”

Other answers given by a number of participants describing who is most likely to speak Kazakh include people who are ‘nationalists’ or ‘patriots’ (7 participants), ethnic Kazakhs (5 participants), young people (5 mentions) and those wanting to maintain their traditions and who respect their native language (4 mentions).

The fact that some participants associate speaking Kazakh with younger speakers may indicate that whilst Kazakh is currently primarily associated with older speakers this situation is changing. The strong association between Kazakh and village inhabitants may also be less stable than in the past as rural Kazakhs increasingly able to take advantage of the improved and protected status of the language move into urban areas. This situation is described by one of the teachers at the Language Academy. This participant describes how such Kazakhs promote greater distinctiveness between ethnic groups and support ethnic nationalising measures perceived to favour their own linguistic and ethnic group at the expense of others.

6:284 “Kazakhs coming from remote areas are now filling up the city, the elite Kazakhs are moving to Almaty, to Astana, that is closer to the centre, now... people are coming here to the city from the countryside. Here we have for example those foreign people who lived, we say Germans have gone to Germany... Jews have gone to Israel, etcetera. Yes, Greeks to Greece and in their place Kazakhs have come from the country, from the villages, bought a flat here, bought acc, accommodation here, now they practically all speak in Kazakh and it is precisely their upcoming generation which speaks only in Kazakh and even, you know it isn’t very pleasant somehow, even little children go out to play in the courtyard - they also distinguish Kazakhs by ethnic signs- only with Kazakhs and Russians only with Russians; children, these little, little ones. Moreover, these children as a rule, well and also the adults, are not very well brought up people... but they boast ‘I’m Kazakh’ because our politics is like that now. And they start to put you down, ‘You’re Russian, that means you’re of the second order already’, you understand... but as a rule that’s little-educated people who behave like that but those like all the teachers who work here, that’s a different contingent.”

This quote clearly reveals that the interviewee feels that a positive ingroup identity as an ethnic Russian in Kazakhstan is under threat both from the policies pursued by the government and from those Kazakhs whom she sees as discriminating against her ethnic group. However, it is also apparent that she makes a distinction between those Kazakhs who have moved into the city from rural areas and are poorly educated and

the established urban population amongst whom are her colleagues who are better educated and whom she does not see as threatening. Interestingly the use of the word ‘foreign’ to describe minority group members such as Germans and Jews in Kazakhstan suggests that the discourse of integration and assimilation is not entirely dominant and that such peoples are viewed in some sense as being ‘other’ and belonging elsewhere. The suggestion that some Kazakh people now focus on ethnic identity and discriminate against other groups is in obvious conflict with the discourse expressed elsewhere that no such discrimination takes place (see for example quotes 4:80 and 7:14).

A similar distinction is made by some of the participants who describe Kazakh nationalists or those wishing to preserve tradition as those most likely to speak Kazakh. One participant describes how he believes that some Kazakhs use their language as a deliberate measure to exclude outgroup members, thus clearly highlighting the boundary marking function of language.

6:285 “Only those root nationalists here who... want to show that they are very proud that they are Kazakhs.”

6:286 “Two types [of people speak Kazakh], those who are just observing tradition and those who don’t want Russians to understand them.”

6.12.2 ‘Is there anyone who only knows Kazakh?’

In order to further explore ideas relating to speakers of Kazakh, participants were also asked whether they believed there was anyone who only knew Kazakh and also whether there was anyone who knew Russian but refused to use it and would only use Kazakh. In response to the first of these questions the majority responded as would be expected from responses to the earlier question about Kazakh speakers that there were people living in the villages who were only able to speak Kazakh; 53 of the 70 participants who answered this question gave this response while 9 said that some old people were only able to speak Kazakh. Just 7 respondents stated that they didn’t think there was anyone unable to speak Russian.

Table 6.4: Responses to the Question ‘Is there anyone who only knows Kazakh?’

Response	Number of Respondents Mentioning
People in villages	53
Older people	9
Kazakhs	4
Yes	2
Young people	1
Those who study in Kazakh	1
Lazy people	1
People who don't want to learn another language	1
Some town people	1
Total number of respondents	70

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

6.12.3 ‘Is there anyone who only uses Kazakh?’

Of the 70 participants who responded to the question asking whether there was anyone who refused to use Russian despite knowing it, 26 stated that they didn't think there was anyone like that or that they were unaware of anyone who behaved in that way. Of the 41 participants who did think there were such people 13 were unwilling or unable to specify further what type of person acted in this way. Others stated that some ‘nationalists’ or ‘patriots’ choose only to speak Kazakh (14 mentions) or that those who want to ‘maintain their language, culture and traditions’ do so (9 mentions).

Table 6.5: Responses to the Question ‘Is there anyone who only uses Kazakh?’

Response	Number of Respondents Mentioning
Nationalists/ patriots	14
Yes	13
Traditionalists	9
Old people	4
People in the villages	3
People who don't want to speak Russian	3
Men	1
No/ don't know anyone like that	26
Total number of respondents	67

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

6:287 “Yes, those who love their language and don't want to change it or lose it.”

6:288 “There are people in the cities too who know Russian and Kazakh but speak Kazakh on principle. Those who want people living in Kazakhstan to know Kazakh – patriots of their country.”

6:289 “Yes there is. Usually men act like that. They are more nation, nationalist. For example my father recently said, he knows Russian very well, he finished a Russian school but sometimes... he just refuses to speak Russian with Kazakhs.”

6:290 “Those who want Kazakhs who speak Russian to go over to Kazakh.”†

The latter two quotes in particular reveal more of the tension between those Kazakhs who advocate a nationalising agenda that gives priority to the Kazakh people and language in Kazakhstan and those Kazakhs who are happy with high levels of Russification and the ongoing influence of that language and culture.

6.12.4 ‘What sort of person is most likely to speak Russian?’

As described above, in contrast to the ongoing association of Kazakh with those from a rural background, Russian is commonly associated with city dwellers. This was the most frequently occurring answer to the question ‘What sort of person is most likely to speak Russian?’ with 24 of the 69 respondents mentioning it. Also, as described above, whereas Kazakh is often associated with older people, the next most frequently given category in this context is that of young people, mentioned by 14 participants. The next most commonly given answer is that ‘everyone’ speaks Russian (10 mentions), adding to the impression already emerging that Russian remains in widespread use in contemporary Kazakhstan despite the increase in status and support given to Kazakh.

Table 6.6: Responses to the Question ‘What sort of person is most likely to speak Russian?’

Response	Number of Respondents Mentioning
People in the city	24
Young people	14
Everyone	10
Non-Kazakhs	9
Those who study in Russian	8
Bosses and businessmen	4
People born in Russia	3
Old people	3
Well educated people	2
Government	1
People who work	1
Those who don't respect Kazakhs	1
Russified Kazakhs	1
People in the North	1
Total number of respondents	69

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

6:292 “Usually the young, students, pupils and all city dwellers [speak Russian].”

6:293 “Our population speaks Russian.”

6:294 “Everyone speaks it.”

Other responses given by a number of participants regarding those most likely to speak Russian include non-Kazakhs (9 mentions), people who were educated through the medium of Russian (8 mentions) and bosses or businessmen (4 mentions).

6:295 “On the whole people of different nationalities who live in Kazakhstan except for Kazakhs and the city Kazakh population on the whole also speaks Russian.”

6:296 “On the whole it's people of European nationality.”

6:297 “Businessmen [speak Russian].”

6:298 “Usually people who... studied at school and university in Russian.”

6:299 “Er, usually they are well educated people well, and usually people who finished Russian school.”†

6.12.5 ‘Is there anyone who only uses Russian?’

Participants were also asked if they thought there was anyone who was able to speak Kazakh but refused to do so and used only Russian. Of the 60 participants who answered this question 16 said that they didn’t think there was anyone like this. Of the remaining 44, 9 simply said that yes there were people who acted in this way without specifying who or why while 8 respondents said that people who were ashamed of their poor command of Kazakh did so and the same number also believed that Russified Kazakhs or those who had been educated in Russian did so. In keeping with the association of Russian with the younger generation, 7 participants stated that some young people refused to speak Kazakh whilst 5 said that Kazakhs who didn’t like their own language did so. Other answers given included that it was ‘city dwellers’ (4 participants), those ‘from the north’ (3 participants), or ‘those who look down on the Kazakh language’ (3 participants) who act this way.

Table 6.7: Responses to the Question ‘Is there anyone who only uses Russian?’

Response	Number of Respondents Mentioning
Yes	9
Those ashamed of their poor Kazakh	8
Russified Kazakhs	8
Young people	7
Kazakhs who don’t like their language	5
People in cities	4
Those who look down on the Kazakh language	3
People in the North	3
Women	2
Educated people	1
Old people	1
No	16
Total number of respondents	60

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

6:301 “People who are ashamed that they don’t speak Kazakh very well.”

6:302 “Many students yes, who know Kazakh well and all the same mostly communicate in Russian, you can say that they’re the city population and that’s why.”

6:303 “For example, I refuse to speak Kazakh because I am afraid... I think that it’s grammatically awful and wrong and that’s why I don’t speak!”

6:304 “Yes, Russified Kazakhs.”

6:305 “Not refuses but maybe it’s their way of living maybe, they used to speak Russian from, from school, from childhood and they continue to speak Russian... I have friend and her family speaks Russian and her neighbours wonder why, why why they speak Russian, why not Kazakh, why not? Like they studied in Russian school and they understand Kazakh but it’s like maybe habit yeah.”

6:306 “There are those who don’t like their own Kazakh language or something... I don’t know [why].”†

The association established above between speaking Russian and being from the city is perhaps one reason why some people, wishing to emphasise their urban status, might choose to use only Russian despite knowledge of Kazakh. As mentioned above, during fieldwork for this study acquaintances described a similar motivation as being shown by friends who deliberately spoke Kazakh with a Russian accent (despite the ability to speak Kazakh without such an accent) when they moved from the village to the city, in order to index their identity as ‘urban’. The fact that through its link with city life the Russian language is thus associated with modernity and progress means that this language carries a high degree of prestige in contradiction to the dominant ideology which seeks to promote Kazakh as the highest status language in the republic.

Certain of the quotes above also further illustrate the ongoing tension between Kazakhs happy with the continued use of Russian in the republic and those who wish to see the Kazakh language dominant in all spheres. The fear felt in particular, by those Kazakhs whose first language is Russian, of being ridiculed because of their poor command of Kazakh reveals the division between these two groups of Kazakhs and the perception on the part of Russified Kazakhs that they are judged negatively by their co-ethnics. This is clearly echoed in one of the articles analysed in chapter 7. In the article, published in *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, entitled ‘*Казахский бы выучил*’ (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, 14/05/04), the author describes his refusal to speak Kazakh on television because he fears that his poor (or ‘impure’, see above for a discussion of ideals of language purity) accent and lack of fluency will be commented on negatively. Later in the article he describes the negative attitude of

those who know the language as the biggest obstacle facing those who might otherwise start using the language.

6:309 “Actually I did refuse and continue to refuse to appear on television in Kazakh since I am not fluent in that language and do not want that someone would comment negatively on my impure pronunciation...

I... want to show that the posing of the question about how there are Kazakhs who don't know their native language and don't want to know it, is absolutely unfounded. It is precisely the negative attitude towards this process by those who know the language that constitutes the main hindrance.”²

6.12.6 ‘What sort of person is most likely to speak English?’

As well as questions relating to Kazakh and Russian, participants were also asked about the use of English. When asked who was most likely to speak this language the most frequently given response was ‘students’ (24 mentions from 63 participants answering this question). The next most common responses were ‘young people’ (10 mentions), ‘educated people’ (8 mentions), ‘those working with foreign firms or foreign people’ (9 mentions), ‘those who want a good job or promotion’ (5 mentions) and ‘businessmen’ (4 mentions). These responses reveal a strong association between English and employment prospects. The picture created is that young people are studying English in order to secure good jobs, particularly with foreign firms.

² See Appendix E for original Russian

Table 6.8: Responses to the Question ‘What sort of person is most likely to speak English?’

Response	Number of Respondents Mentioning
Students	24
Young people	10
Those working with foreign firms/ in contact with foreigners	9
Educated people	8
Those who want a good job	5
Businessmen	4
Teachers	3
People in cities	3
People who want to live abroad	2
Scientists	1
Those working with computers	1
People who travel	1
Those with relatives abroad	1
Government	1
People who want to be cool	1
Total number of respondents	63

NB: Some respondents offered more than one response

6:310 “Those aiming for an education, who want to know more.”

6:311 “Progressive people, young people.”

6:312 “English, it’s those who work in business.”

6:313 “English is popular, very popular nowadays and our school children they... go to the universities, to continue their education in English... they think that if they know English they will get good job maybe in an international organisation, maybe they will go abroad and will travel. Many young people want to work for example in America, Great Britain, Canada, Australia.”

6:314 “Those who want to have a career promotion.”

6: 315 “People like me, who really want to work for a major firm.”

6:316 “...nowadays it’s become like very fashionable, like fashionable language, everybody who wants to be employed or to have a good work [speaks English].”†

6.13 Language Roles: Summary

The above discussion of the roles played by English, Russian and Kazakh in contemporary Kazakhstan reveals an ongoing situation of competition between

speakers and advocates of each of these languages for their use and status within various domains. Group identities are marked and group boundaries contested through language use and through attitudes expressed towards others and their language use. In this way the role and status of English, Russian and Kazakh will go on being negotiated through both the use and avoidance of use of each of these languages.

Whilst many participants acknowledged the right of individuals to choose what language to be educated in there was also a belief in learning through the ethnic group language being a matter of group loyalty and respect. The opinion that language of instruction affected a student's character was also frequently voiced as many participants believed that learning through Kazakh provided inculcation in the cultural values and norms associated with that ethnic group and that the same was true for Russian. There was also a belief in the importance of speaking a language 'purely' in order to preserve the respect and status due to the language and the group with which it is associated. For many of the participants the identity marking function of Kazakh as the state language is of great importance. Speaking Kazakh purely was thus presented as important in relation to the status and well-being of Kazakhstan as a respected independent republic on the world stage.

A tension emerged between those participants who focussed on a Kazakhstani identity centred primarily on the Kazakh language and culture and those who focussed more on a multi-ethnic and linguistically and culturally inclusive identity for the state. Thus, when asked what the state language should be and which language or languages should be used for instruction in schools as well as about the most suitable language for various domains of use, some of the interviewees stated that Kazakh alone should be used in all contexts in order to present a state identity for Kazakhstan built around the Kazakh people and also distinct from other post-Soviet states and from its own Soviet past. Other participants though, believed that the Kazakhstani group norms of inter-ethnic harmony and inclusiveness should be expressed through the use of both Kazakh and Russian in all domains.

There was however, widespread agreement regarding the instrumental value of Russian as an internationally significant language, knowledge of which provides access to a wide range of resources. The fact that Russian has a developed technical vocabulary for a much wider range of domains than Kazakh does was also recognized, although it was pointed out that Kazakh is being developed in this area. English was also highly valued for its status as a world language and for the investment and employment opportunities with which it is associated.

Kazakh, in contrast, was more valued for the ideological reasons described above. It is regarded as being the language of independence whose use and status is increasing and which will be the main language with which the republic is associated in the future. Similarly, although Russian is described as still being in everyday use in the workplace, participants describe an increasing instrumental value for Kazakh in that employers now require Kazakh speakers in order to fulfil government requirements concerning documentation in the state language.

Despite these developments though, there is still a general association of the Kazakh language with rural domains and older speakers. Russian, in contrast, is seen to index an urban identity and has a closer association with popular culture and modernity. Similar associations pertain with respect to English which is also regarded as the language of international opportunities and economic success.

7 National Identity: Media Context

7.1 Introduction

Whilst the interview material discussed in the present study reveals the behaviour and attitudes of a number of individuals seeking to find their place in present day Kazakhstan and to position themselves according to their beliefs about their various identities, it is helpful to review aspects of the wider social context in which this occurs. The issues of identity important to individuals both affect and are affected by discussions of those issues within the national media. An extensive review of Kazakhstan's mass media is outwith the scope of this work; however, a look at a portion of the contemporary press provides an instructive indication of at least some of the relevant discourses ongoing in the country in relation to issues of language and the nature and boundaries of a state identity.

As was outlined previously, Wodak and her colleagues identified five areas which they judged to be of thematic importance in the discursive construction of national identity. Having used these themes - the linguistic construction of a *homo nationalis*, the linguistic construction of a common political past, of a common culture, of a common political present and future and of a 'national body' to investigate the interview data collected in Shymkent - they are employed again below in the analysis of extracts from the Kazakhstani media.

Freedom of the press is guaranteed in the constitution of Kazakhstan but according to monitors of media freedom, private and opposition media are increasingly subject to intimidation, censorship and legal harassment through libel suits. Moreover, the health, private life and financial affairs of the president are designated as state secrets and the country's criminal code prohibits insulting the honour and dignity of the president. In light of these factors, private and opposition media increasingly operate self-censorship to avoid prosecution by the state. Recent legislation passed following the revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan prohibits advocating or glorifying 'extremism'. However, human rights activists have complained that the definition of 'extremism' is too vague and could be used against nearly any potentially critical group. The president and his family and close associates control

most printing presses and radio and television broadcasting facilities. The government runs the national radio and television networks and is increasingly moving to block access to websites deemed critical of the president or the government¹.

In order to investigate the themes of language and identity as they are presented by the Kazakhstani press three publications were reviewed by means of their web sites. These are *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, a government-backed Russian language publication, *Ekspress-K*, and *Liter*, both daily, private Russian language publications. Each of these have archives available on line and these were searched for articles relating to 'Kazakh language', 'Russian language', 'English language' and 'education'. The archives were searched for articles dating from January 2003 to December 2005. This period was chosen because it covers approximately two years before and one year after the recording of the interviews in Shymkent and thus reflects the media context relevant at the time of that fieldwork. These searches all produced a very high number of articles from the archive containing the words searched for. From these, a total of fifteen which seemed most relevant were selected from each paper. As well as containing the key words searched for, the chosen articles were judged to involve topics clearly relevant to the construction of a national identity or identities, such as the use of language in official administration, access to and resources for education in various languages, linguistic and cultural events deemed worth reporting and attitudes towards the various languages spoken in Kazakhstan and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The search revealed a large number of articles dealing with the 'problem' of expanding the range of use of Kazakh and with the need for better educational resources, as well as many reports covering the speeches and activities of the president. These preoccupations are reflected accordingly in the relatively high proportion of articles selected which deal with these topics.

¹ Source: Freedom of the Press Kazakhstan profile compiled by Freedom House, <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&country=6990&year=2006>

7.2 The Discursive Construction of a *Homo Nationalis*

In the examination of interviewees' responses pertaining to the linguistic construction of a national character and description of the nature of national belonging the fact that numerous participants made reference to an emotional attachment and involvement in the nation was discussed. Such references are much less common in the newspaper material, being less personal in nature. However, where quotes or descriptions of public speeches are given there are some expressions revealing an emotional element to national belonging.

This is most evident in the transcript (published as a Russian translation of the Kazakh original) in *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* of a speech given by Nazarbaev at the opening of an architectural-memorial complex constructed in honour of Makhambet Utemisov (1803-1846), a Kazakh poet and political activist who helped lead a rebellion against the rule of the Khan of the Inner Horde and against Russian colonialism. That Nazarbaev chose to make this speech in Kazakh is, in itself, an endorsement of an ideology of Kazakhification and of the status of Kazakh as the official state language. However, the president would also be fully aware that any such speech would be translated to appear in the Russian language press for the benefit of the large Russian-speaking population in the country. For many citizens the Russian version of such a speech is the only one accessible and as such it contributes to and helps to constitute the discursive environment in which a large part of the population live and operate. Nazarbaev celebrates Makhambet along with his military partner Isatay Taymanuly, describing them as “two heroes” (“Два героя”) who “roused the people against the yoke of colonialism”² and who are “an example of genuine love for their native land, for the people and for the mother country. Both of them are true patriots”³ (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнущий дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

² “организовали и подняли народ против колониального гнета”

³ “оба являют собой пример неподдельной любви к родной земле, к народу и Отчизне. Оба они — истинные патриоты.”

In this extract Nazarbaev uses emotive language to commend the ‘two heroes’ and their passion for their homeland. Throughout the speech Nazarbaev eulogises Makhambet in particular for his poetic and military achievements. Moreover, Nazarbaev makes Makhambet a more ‘appropriate’ figure of national admiration by stating that he believes the assertion that Makhambet and Isatay fought against Zhangir-Kerey Khan of the Inner Horde is a “mistaken opinion”, (“ошибочное мнение”), and that the movement was actually a “national uprising directed against colonialism”⁴. In this way Nazarbaev appropriates Makhambet as a national figure suitable to represent and inspire the citizens of a modern day newly independent political state⁵.

Further to this Nazarbaev blends the character of Makhambet as a symbol of ethnic Kazakh heroism with a wider conception of him as a hero for a contemporary, multi-ethnic Kazakhstani state. In this way the qualities associated with a specifically Kazakh figure are given pre-eminence in the president’s call to patriotism and national pride. Thus Makhambet is described as being a “son of the Steppe for whom Freedom was a ‘religion’ and way of being”⁶ and “the last Steppe philosopher”⁷. Nazarbaev describes his “uniqueness” as being predetermined by his “roots in the heart of the ancient culture of the Steppe”⁸. Later it is said that he was searching for “the good and the unity of his people”⁹ and that he didn’t “give in to difficulties” but continuously “defended the common interest”¹⁰. Nazarbaev declares that such principles can become “golden rules to be followed by every citizen and patriot”¹¹.

⁴ “Ибо на самом деле движение Исатая и Махамбета являлось народным восстанием, направленным против колониализма.”

⁵ Nazarbaev thus uses this speech to describe his conception of a Kazakhstani national identity and it is therefore highly relevant to the theme of the present chapter and is quoted extensively.

⁶ “сын Степи, в которой Свобода была “религией” и способом существования”

⁷ “последний степной философ”

⁸ “его уникальность предопределена уходящей корнями в глубь древней культуры Степи”

⁹ “ищущий блага и единства для своего народа”

¹⁰ “не пасуя перед трудностями, непрерывным фронтом отстаивать общие интересы”

¹¹ “могли бы составить золотое правило для следования каждым гражданином и патриотом”

Similarly, Nazarbaev focuses on the “multifaceted”, (“многообразная”) history and culture of the Kazakhs and lists the virtues of “knights of the steppe”, (“степные рыцари”) such as Makhambet who combined many talents in themselves.¹² This focus on appropriate heroes is in marked contrast to the absence of references to national heroes in the discourses of individuals discussed in chapter 5 and is thus evidence of the way in which individuals are not merely passive recipients of official discourse but may reinterpret and reject aspects of it.

The elevated tone of this speech is one of emotions excited by and connected to national belonging. Nazarbaev’s description of the hero’s focus on “unity” (“единства”) and the defence of the “common interest” (“общие интересы”) as something to be copied reveals his desire that such activities be ongoing today in favour of the new Kazakhstani identity currently being defined. Nazarbaev thus seeks to selectively present and interpret history and this historical figure in particular in order to promote the identity and group values he desires to see established. Nazarbaev talks of the ‘national spirit’ and again uses Makhambet as an ideal example such that the national spirit of Kazakhstan is naturally embodied by a Kazakh national hero whilst at the same time the impression of ethnic inclusiveness is given in order to be relevant and acceptable today. Nazarbaev talks very definitely of ethnic Kazakh values and aspects of identity as inspiration for a wider, more inclusive citizenship, claiming Kazakh virtues as of universal worth and value such that a Kazakh identity and Kazakh spirit are seen to be central to a Kazakhstani identity and spirit. In particular he describes the work of various Kazakh heroes as being “an inexhaustible mine of folk wisdom, an inextinguishable life-giving spring for the national spirit”.^{13†}

Highlighting typically Kazakh characteristics as central to a Kazakhstani identity is an approach that is in some measure reflected in the responses of some of the

¹² For a longer extract see Appendix C. Where † appears see this Appendix for longer/ additional quotes.

¹³ “неисчерпаемым кладезем народной мудрости, неиссякаемым животворным родником национального духа”

interviewees in the Shymkent study. Many respondents spoke of the traditions of friendliness and hospitality which are seen to have originated in Kazakh culture but to have been assimilated by all the peoples together in Kazakhstan. The language used by Nazarbaev in his speech is spiritual in vocabulary when he speaks of the “religion” of freedom and of the state’s prerequisites for true patriotism as quoted above and is also quite abstract when he speaks of the “national spirit”. However, the corresponding ideas as reflected in the discourse of the interviewees tend to be far more prosaic and concrete. Participants simply describe themselves as “proud” that Kazakhstan is independent and economically relatively prosperous and orient to the more definite traits of hospitality, acceptance and friendliness when discussing national traits.

Amongst the newspaper articles collected the only other references to a discourse of national uniqueness are also found in accounts of speeches given by Nazarbaev. One reference to the “uniqueness of our state”¹⁴ comes in a call by Nazarbaev for the production of a good quality history of modern Kazakhstan for school use in which he states that such a book is necessary to demonstrate the uniqueness of the state and the value of “international and inter-confessional accord”¹⁵ (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране — качественное образование, 13/10/2004).†

In this context, it may be argued that what is most valued is distinctiveness from the voice of the Soviet past or of contemporary Russia such that Nazarbaev is able to establish a suitable historical identity for Kazakhstan and ensure that such an identity is positively distinct from relevant others such as Russia or the other states of Central Asia.

The other article dealing with national distinctiveness also relates to education, as the president explains that whilst currently there is a drive to fund scholarships for Kazakhstani students to study abroad, in time he hopes that an internationally respected quality education will be available in Kazakhstan because “receiving

¹⁴ “уникальность нашего государства”

¹⁵ “межнационального и межконфессионального согласия”

knowledge abroad won't always do as we have slightly different conditions and mentality”¹⁶ (*Ekspress-K*, Умники и умницы, 31/10/2003).

Thus it would seem that a sense of national uniqueness is an important theme for the president as he seeks to shape an emerging state identity. In contrast, the other articles selected do not focus on a sense of a national mentality in the terms used by Nazarbaev. Many of them do, however, focus on the importance of the Kazakh language as a vital part of the life of the new state and its people. In writing about this topic the authors of many of the articles insist on the centrality and pre-eminence of the Kazakh language in the linguistic practice and identity of independent Kazakhstan, much as Nazarbaev insists on the centrality of Kazakhs in determining a Kazakhstani national identity.

In the first paragraph of one of the articles from *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, written by a representative of the Kazakh language society *Kazak Tili* (*Kazak Tili* means ‘Kazakh language’), the view is expressed that

7:5 “Through all the centuries our native language has been for Kazakhs a lifting, mobilising force. ‘The language of our fathers is a holy legacy’ wrote our great compatriot Magzhan Zhumbaev. I am sure that all the more so in our new, sovereign state such an understanding of the significance of the Kazakh language, fills the hearts not only of poets but of all citizens of Kazakhstan.” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Язык отцов — наследие святое, 27/09/05)¹⁷.

Thus, here too, a Kazakh poet and the Kazakh language are pointed out as being at the heart of understanding independent Kazakhstan’s identity. As in Nazarbaev’s speech at the opening of the architectural-memorial complex discussed above, the language used elevates something everyday – the Kazakh language – to a semi-religious status, “a holy legacy” whose significance “fills the hearts... of all citizens of Kazakhstan”.

¹⁶ “применять полученные за рубежом знания не всегда удастся, у нас немного иные условия и менталитет”

¹⁷ See Appendix E for Russian original of quotes

Similar dramatic and ennobling language is used in another of the articles taken from *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. Writing about the Kazakh language, the author states that

7:6 “Its status is very high. It is the most important of the state symbols. Where there is a language there is a people. Where there are no speakers of a language – then there is no people.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Где ты, казахская волна? 13/12/2003).

The idea expressed above, that the language is spiritually vital to the people, is echoed in later articles from the same paper. In the first of these a representative of the committee for languages is interviewed about efforts to raise the status of Kazakh. The representative interviewed praises the work of the Kazakh language organisation *Kazak Tili*, saying that the society’s publication *Ana Tili* had reported on “the spiritual resurrection of the nation”¹⁸ (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Импульс развитию языка, 20/03/05). A second article makes comments of a similar nature.

7:7 “Language – is a cultural treasure, the spirit of the people, therefore every Kazakhstani is obliged to know the state language.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обзор казахской прессы, 02/07/05).

Here once more the particular language of the Kazakhs, associated with their culture, is declared to be of spiritual import for all citizens. An article from the same paper the following month (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005) cites the constitution and links knowledge of the state language with the development of Kazakhstan as an independent state.[†]

However, despite the fact that many articles, especially those from *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, do focus on the development of Kazakh language and culture above those of other ethnic groups represented in Kazakhstan, there are also references to the protection given by the constitution to other languages and to the freedom in independent Kazakhstan for a variety of languages and cultures to co-exist. In an interview with Kobeem Khusaıyn, the director of a language institute, reported in *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, the academic being questioned states his belief that

¹⁸ “о духовном возрождении нации.”

7:9 “In recent years many changes have occurred in relation to the state language and its introduction, but the main thing is that the psychology of the citizens of Kazakhstan has changed regardless of their national [i.e. ethnic] belonging. The overwhelming majority understand that the independence of the state determines independent development not only economically and politically but also the successful development of the culture both of Kazakhs and of representatives of other ethnic groups living in the republic.” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский язык – твой, мой, наш, 16/12/2003).

In this quote the fact that ‘Kazakhs’ are listed before and separately from ‘other ethnic groups’ implicitly marks the Kazakhs out as the primary culture setters and reference group within the state compared to all the ‘others’. However, this is held in tension with the explicitly expressed view that all cultures are to be given room to develop, a perspective reminiscent of comments made by the Shymkent interviewees in relation to a national character. As stated above, many of the interview participants cited hospitality and friendliness as typical Kazakhstani characteristics, resulting in an identity for Kazakhstan as a place of tolerance and inter-ethnic harmony with all ethnic groups being allowed to develop and express their culture. This is a source of positive ingroup identity and pride for a number of the interviewees, something also expressed quite clearly in certain of the newspaper extracts. In an article for *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, one author writes that

7:10 “Our multi-ethnic country is rightly proud of the fact that in the most difficult years of the formation of statehood, Kazakhstan was able to preserve inter-ethnic accord, showing a world torn apart by ethnic wars a stunning example. We should have enough wisdom to get even further without mistakes, escaping the national self-love of one or another ethnic group, which, together with the others, composes the unified whole under the name ‘people of Kazakhstan’.” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово, 25/03/2004).

The newspaper article from which this is drawn consists of a collection of reports from the various administrative regions on the progress of plans to raise the status of Kazakh throughout the country, principally through its introduction in the sphere of regional administration. In his report about the Kyzylorda region, one contributor admits that the introduction of Kazakh to new spheres of use may be a source of

“discomfort” (“дискомфорт”) for Russian speakers but asserts that Russian speakers in Kyzylorda live well and that there are

7:11 “absolutely no inter-ethnic or linguistic barriers to inter-relationships, the traditions of neighbourly relations and inter-ethnic accord are alive and well.” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово, 25/03/2004).

It is clear then that the discourse of pride in inter-ethnic harmony as a distinguishing feature of Kazakhstani society evident in the responses of the interview participants in Shymkent is also present in the articles of *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. The following extract of an article from that paper reveals the author uniting the ideas discussed above of linking language with spiritual values and of inter-ethnic harmony as part of a strong and independent state identity.

7:12 “The linguistic variety in the republic is destined to become the bond fastening together the spiritual unity and brotherhood of the peoples inhabiting Kazakhstan. In the course of language policy we must ensure that a person of any tribe or clan can say to the speaker of another language, to paraphrase the famous saying, ‘your language is my friend’. And our Constitution is able to become the guarantor of this” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005).

A large number of the articles selected from *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* cover themes of language development and in particular the ‘problem’ of how to increase the use and status of Kazakh (a view in tension with the affirmation of “linguistic variety” given above). However, far fewer of the articles selected from the other two newspapers focus on this topic. A few do, though, relate to the concept of inter-ethnic harmony as part of a positive Kazakhstani identity.

One of these, from *Ekspress-K*, is in an account of a gathering of the Turkish diaspora in Kazakhstan. The author writes of how the Turkish exiles have been able to preserve their language and culture to a significant degree and how they were helped and accepted by the Kazakh people.

7:13 “[They managed] to survive because the Kazakhs received the settlers very warmly. In the hard post-war years they helped them all they could. They shared with them their homes, their food”

(*Ekspress-K*, Формула единства, 05/05/2004).

The same article goes on to quote a member of parliament who, in his childhood, lived with some Turkish exiles.

7:14 “When I was a child, a family of Turks lived in the same house with our family...we shared a piece of bread with them, clothes... Even as children we never divided up by nationality. Both in the Soviet Union and even more so in independent Kazakhstan we live as one brotherly family.”

(*Ekspress-K*, Формула единства, 05/05/2004).

An article from the newspaper *Liter* describes a gathering of ethnic Kazakhs and quotes one of the participants as saying that

7:15 “The main thing in Kazakhstan is that peace is preserved, and everyone feels equal and worthy as citizens of the country”.

(*Liter*, За державу не обидно, 30/09/2005).

From the foregoing, then, it is clear that pride in inter-ethnic harmony in Kazakhstani society is a prominent part of the discourse of national identity in both the individual interviews carried out in Shymkent and the newspaper articles selected. However, the newspaper articles, particularly those taken from *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, use far more emotive and elevating language, particularly in reference to the Kazakh language than is evident in the interview participants’ speech.

In relation to the linguistic construction of a national character the idea of national identity and feelings of belonging being ‘activated’ was prevalent in the interviewees’ responses. Many of the participants talked of how they came to describe themselves as Kazakhstani when travelling abroad or in some other international context and some spoke of suddenly becoming aware of a strong emotional attachment to Kazakhstan in such situations. These ideas are not reflected in any of the newspaper articles selected. The emotive tone of many of the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* articles in particular suggests the assumption that a national identity of such importance would always be salient and emotionally involving and this may be why no reference to the activation of such an identity is made.

Similarly, whilst a number of the interview participants refer to the importance of a Kazakhstani identity because Kazakhstan was their place of birth or of socialisation these themes are not overtly apparent in the newspaper articles.

There are, then, similar themes apparent in the discourse surrounding the linguistic creation of a *homo nationalis* for Kazakhstan in both the interviews conducted in Shymkent and the national media extracts reviewed. However, the treatment of those themes which are covered in both sets of data is different with the media discourse using more elevated and emotive language, sometimes using religious vocabulary, particularly in relation to the Kazakh language as a central symbol of Kazakhstani identity whereas there is no clear tendency to do so in the interviewees' contributions. Moreover, certain themes relevant in the Shymkent participants' discourse are not noticeable in that of the newspaper articles.

7.3 The Discursive Construction of a Common Political Past

The second thematic content area explored in relation to the Shymkent interview data was that of a common political past. In their treatment of this theme Wodak and her colleagues discuss the role of important historical events, be they times of success and prosperity for the country or times of crisis, in the construction of a national identity (1999: 31). As discussed in the previous chapter many of the interviewees showed pride in the independence of Kazakhstan and relate to the beginning of independence for the republic as an important and positive national event. Similarly, many of the newspaper articles refer to this event and to the introduction of the republic's constitution as a significant point of orientation, reporting on what has been achieved or on how many years have passed since that date and on which are the most important problems still facing the country a decade or more on.

Another common theme amongst the Shymkent participants was that of independence being achieved as the result of a long struggle, carried on from generation to generation by the autochthonous population. This perspective is also a theme referred to repeatedly in the speech given by Nazarbaev at the opening of the

architectural-memorial complex. Nazarbaev draws attention to the ancient origin of the Kazakh people and of their durability and persistent character through use of hyperbole and emphatic vocabulary and phrases such as “ancestry of the ancient Turks”, “indomitable”, “ineradicable” and “endless resistance”¹⁹.†

As described previously, Nazarbaev uses a Kazakh hero and the Kazakh people as his starting point for talking about independent Kazakhstan and then widens this out to include all ethnic groups living in the republic.

The only other article of those selected that focuses on the heroism of former generations and on how that should inspire the present-day population is another of the articles taken from *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*. In this article too, the historic population of Kazakhstan is glorified and praised such that “every steppe-dweller” should be “filled with love for his ancestors and his roots”²⁰ (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты герой нашего времени? 28/10/2005).†

The author writes about the importance of historic heroes to inspire the present generation and goes on to express the view that the young people of contemporary Kazakhstan have little respect for the Kazakh language as a result of their lack of respect for their ancestors and past heroes who fought for the language and culture. In the same way as Nazarbaev used elevating, religious language, so too does this author in describing the importance of every language and culture as something spiritual and elemental and how such an understanding enables present generations to live correctly.

7:18 “It hasn’t been explained to them, [the young people] that every language is unique and beautiful, like every flower is beautiful and every creature living on the earth. Experienced linguists haven’t told them about how the culture of any people and its language is the trade of the Almighty, a building block of the universe which forms the impressive mosaic of the whole world. They don’t have understanding of the fact that the salt of the earth are not those who steal and are puffed up, proud of

¹⁹ “родословную от древних тюрков”, “неукротимой”, “неистребимой”, “непрекращавшегося сопротивления”

²⁰ “для того чтобы каждый степняк проникся любовью к своим предкам и своим корням”

their mansions, and not those who have read two books in their whole life but then fill stadiums as a result of good P.R. companies... but those who found immortality with a sword in their hand, protecting their people, their native language, their culture.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты герой нашего времени? 28/10/2005).

The idea that a people’s historical heroes are important for determining the nature and character of their national identity is also present in Nazarbaev’s speech at the architectural-memorial complex. He describes the movement under Makhambet as having “immense historical significance and great political importance”²¹ and states that it is not right to examine the history of a people and of its heroes separately²². He asserts that Kazakhstan’s heroes have left an “indelible” mark on the homeland’s history²³ and become the “conscience of the nation”²⁴ and that remembering them is a ‘holy duty’ (“святой долг”) in order to preserve the “moral-aesthetic health of the nation”²⁵.†

Both Nazarbaev in the extracts of his speech quoted above and the author of the other *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* article cited see the historic heroes of the Kazakh people as playing an important role in the contemporary republic’s national identity. Kazakh history and the history of its heroes are, for them, key to understanding the nature and values of Kazakhstan today. They repeatedly use religious, spiritual and mythologizing language to elevate the people, events, culture and language of the Kazakhs to inspiring mythological proportions. In this way Nazarbaev in particular seems to wish to create a suitable collective memory for the new republic that fits his vision for its identity. The fact that he is at least partially successful is revealed by the Shymkent participants’ discourse of independence being the culmination of a long and continuous struggle fought by generations of Kazakhs for their own land, identity and culture. However, there are virtually no references to mythical or heroic

²¹ “значение грандиозного исторического события большой политической важности”

²² “историю народа и историю героических личностей мы не вправе представлять и рассматривать в отрыве друг от друга”

²³ “неизгладимый след в отечественной истории”

²⁴ “стать совестью нации”

²⁵ “чтобы сохранить нравственно-эстетическое здоровье нации”

figures from the past as part of this discourse. It is also clear that this ideology is not all-pervasive as none of the other articles selected romanticise the past or its heroes in the way described above.

What is more widespread, though, is the discourse of the oppression of the Kazakh language and culture during the Soviet Union. This is something present in the comments of the interview participants and in several of the newspaper articles reviewed. Despite the fact that he himself was a leader during the late Soviet period, Nazarbaev is critical of Communist rule, presenting it as being destructive of the Kazakh culture. In the speech already extensively quoted Nazarbaev says that

7:20 “National history and worldview, national culture and art, national customs and the traditional order, religion, language and mentality, in a word everything that comprises the honour and worth of the nation was brought as a sacrifice to the lying banner of just reconstruction of the world and became small change in the dirty games of the communist party elite.

It is impossible to measure the loss which, at the time of the thoughtless anti-national policy was brought to our blessed land... And how many documents and how much material evidence of ancient times, how many monuments, relics and rarities of the past, how many priceless sources of knowledge and faith are lost from sight, gone missing, and so disappeared without a trace from the face of the earth.?”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

A similar viewpoint concerning the loss of language as a result of the dominance of Russian in the Soviet Union is expressed far less emotively in another of the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* articles. Talking of the Kazakh intelligentsia, the author, Mekhis Suleimenov, states that

7:21 “Having moved to the big city, they discovered the exceptional importance of the Russian language for their careers and gave their whole remaining lives to perfecting it. All these years the typical representative of this layer of Kazakh intelligentsia read, wrote and spoke at work only in Russian because the whole of their success in the institute and then in their practical work depended on the quality of their knowledge of the Russian language.” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04).

Similarly, in another of the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* articles (Казахский язык – твой, мой, наш, 16/12/2003), the view is put forward that the poor status of Kazakh

as a result of the Soviet past is a problem. However, the article consists of an interview with the director of a language institute who also asserts that emotional appeals about the poor status of Kazakh are not necessarily helpful, a view clearly contrasting with that of the president.[†]

The discourse of suppression of culture and language during the Soviet Union is not so apparent in the articles selected from the other two newspapers. The article referred to above, however, reveals that discourses concerning past language policy are not all so emotive as the first two *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* articles quoted might suggest and that those dealing with the Soviet past are not all entirely negative. The competing discourses of cultural oppression versus cultural exchange, enrichment and assimilation as a result of the Soviet Union were described in the context of the interview data and are also present in certain of the newspaper articles reviewed.

One article (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04), written by the ethnic Kazakh academic quoted above (7:21), questions the discourse of language suppression by suggesting that schools with Kazakh as the medium of instruction were closed, not so much by force during the Soviet Union, as because people no longer wanted to send their children there, although it is acknowledged that this is because of the need for competence in Russian for career prospects.[†]

Moreover, an article from *Liter* reports on an address given by president Nazarbaev to teachers and students in which he argues that there is good to be derived from the educational experiences of the Soviet years. This illustrates the important influence of context and audience on the content of a speech. Whilst Nazarbaev's speech quoted above focussed on the entirely negative effects of colonialism in Kazakhstan, here he highlights some positive aspects of that time.

7:24 "The head of state noted that even the baggage of the old Soviet schools gives an advantage to those states and it is therefore worthwhile not to refuse that accumulation of experience in the matter of education of the young."
(*Liter*, Высшее преОбразование, 08/09/05).

Moreover, a *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* article discusses the use of the Russian language in the CIS and highlights the positive role it plays for the countries concerned for which it gives access to a wider sphere of information and provides a high status common language. Russian is described as being the “friend and ally”²⁶ of other languages and as having exerted a “beneficial influence on the spiritual development of the peoples of the states of the post-Soviet space”²⁷ and the assertion is also made that Russian has itself been influenced by the other languages of the CIS and Soviet Union over the years (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Объединяющее слово, 15/09/2004).†

Also challenging the idea that Kazakh culture has always been in opposition to and threatened by Russian influences are comments in an article from *Ekspress-K* (Я русский бы выучил только за то..., 27/05/2004). The piece describes an evening’s events dedicated to the ‘Day of Slavonic writing and culture’ organised by the Russian community in the city of Taraz to mark the ‘Year of Russia in Kazakhstan’ and celebrates pieces about “the friendship and brotherhood of the peoples”²⁸ and the works of Kazakh poets “declaring their love for the Russian language”²⁹.†

Similarly, another article from *Ekspress-K* (Эти блестящие блестящие “Образцы...” 01/10/2004) reports the publication of a collection of Kazakh oral literature. The author describes how such literature was originally collected and recorded by Russian and other European travellers and researchers visiting the region. The views expressed directly challenge the discourse of colonial oppression and widespread disregard for culture by describing these early ethnographers’ love and respect for Kazakh culture and the “beneficial role” (“благотворной роли”) of these scholars in recording aspects of Kazakh culture.†

²⁶ “друг и союзник”

²⁷ “русский язык оказал и оказывает благотворное влияние на духовное развитие народов в государствах постсоветского пространства”

²⁸ “о дружбе братских народов”

²⁹ “Стихи казахских поэтов, признающих в любви к русскому языку”

This article introduces the idea of a Russian role in preserving and protecting the Kazakh language and culture, a discourse clearly contradictory to the parallel one described above of Russian oppression and destruction of culture. Both form part of Kazakhstan's past relations with Russia and the Russian language and part of the collective memory of these relations. The two discourses, one of Russification as a wholly negative thing resulting in the threat of loss of Kazakh language and culture, and the other of cultural enrichment and mutual appreciation of the two languages and cultures exist alongside one another and both inform contemporary attitudes towards language and identity today as evidenced by the comments quoted above as to the place of Russian in the CIS and by the existence of both discourses in the interview participants' responses.

One facet of the interviewees' discourse of a more positive view of history was that peoples who had settled in Kazakhstan had been welcomed and accepted and that the good relations between the ethnic groups in Kazakhstan over the years reveals the hospitable, tolerant nature of the Kazakhs. This is echoed in part of an article from *Liter* discussing the importance of the country's cultural heritage.

7:28 "The leading archaeologist of the country, Karl Baipakov spoke about the unique discoveries in the fortified settlement of Koilik, where the ruins of temples of various confessions (Muslim, Christian, Buddhist) were discovered on the territory of ancient Kazakhstan of the XI-XII centuries, which witnesses to the humane, tolerant policies of our ancestors in spiritual matters."
(*Liter*, Что имеем – сохраним! 28/01/05).

Also evident in this quote is the ideology, expressed by a number of the Shymkent participants, that there is a direct and continuous link between the territory of what is now Kazakhstan and the present-day state and its people.

It is therefore clear that in relation to themes pertaining to the linguistic construction of a common past there are similarities in certain of the attitudes and beliefs expressed in the newspaper articles under review and those revealed in the contributions of the interviewees in Shymkent to these discourses. This suggests that the historical identity presented in the media, itself to a significant degree a reflection

of Nazarbaev's ideology of a suitable collective memory for the republic, is being taken up and co-constructed by Kazakhstani individuals such as those interviewed.

7.4 The Discursive Construction of a Common Culture

Beliefs about languages play an important part in the linguistic construction of culture. As discussed in the previous section, the competing views of the role of Russian in the past influence attitudes towards it today. Amongst the interview participants, competing discourses were evident with regard to the status of the Kazakh language in relation to Russian in particular. For some, Kazakhstan's independent identity should be expressed in and through Kazakh to the exclusion of other languages whilst others believe that a bi- or multilingual identity better expresses the harmonious multi-ethnic society of Kazakhstan. These competing views are also expressed in various ways in many of the newspaper articles reviewed.

Many of the articles describe the current status of Kazakh as a 'problem' to be addressed, believing that the state language should be more highly used and regarded and in fact, many of the interviewees agree that as a symbol of independent statehood Kazakh should be promoted. However, in both the interviews and the newspaper articles there are differences of opinion as to whether Kazakhstan should essentially become a monolingual state or whether there is still an important role for Russian and other languages, in particular English.

One of the articles which puts forward the view that Kazakh should be promoted but that the continuing value of Russian should also be recognised and the increasing use of English accepted was written by the Kazakh academic already quoted (7:21) and published in *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* (Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04) .†

Another article which supports the ongoing use of Russian appeared in *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* later in the same year and was written by the president of the A. S. Pushkin State Institute of the Russian Language. In this article it is argued that the knowledge of Russian as a shared language throughout the countries of the

CIS presents opportunities for those countries in the spheres of education, mass information and business relations (Объединяющее слово 15/09/2004).†

President Nazarbaev is also often quoted as supporting the continued use of Russian and the development of the use of English in Kazakhstan. One of the articles from *Liter* ('Образованных посадят в калошу', 13/10/2004) reports on an address by Nazarbaev to a gathering of education and science workers. Having first stressed the importance of Kazakh and stated that children themselves understand the importance of studying with Kazakh as the medium of education, the president went on to talk about the place of other languages, stating that the government would promote the teaching of Russian and English in schools.†

Kazakhstanskaya Pravda published a more extensive report about this event and gave a fuller account of the president's views.

7:32 "The need for English is a world tendency, it's an obvious need. And excellent proficiency in Russian – this is our wealth, to lose which would be extremely foolish. We speak and carry out documentation in Russian because today all Kazakhstanis know that language. Therefore it is the Russian language that unites our nation, all citizens of our country. That's how it's turned out historically, and no one is to blame in this. Time is needed for the Kazakh language to begin to fulfil such a unifying role, but it is not worth rushing such an event, said the President... For us it will be of great advantage if we will be fully fluent in Kazakh, Russian and English."

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

It is interesting that in this context Nazarbaev explicitly states that no-one is to blame for the predominance of Russian in Kazakhstan, whereas in the speech given at the opening of the architectural-memorial complex he clearly blamed Russian domination for the low status of Kazakh and the suppression of Kazakh culture (see for example extract 7:20). This once again shows how multiple competing discourses can co-exist and the same speaker can engage in them all with different audiences and contexts, making one or another discourse apparently more appropriate or salient.

Despite Nazarbaev's assertions that the replacement of Russian with Kazakh cannot be forced, in the same year as the conference speech quoted above was made, *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* also reported on the progress made by the regional governments throughout the country on starting to use Kazakh instead of Russian for their administration and documentation. However, the continued importance of knowing Russian is stressed by the author reporting on the progress of introducing Kazakh in Kyzylorda oblast. Having discussed how the region was the first to start using Kazakh for all its administration and described the problems of lack of adequate knowledge of that language, he goes on to state that in some rural areas lack of knowledge of Russian is an increasing problem. The author asserts that in the view of the region's *akim*, the senior official

7:33 "It is very bad... not knowing the language of international communication closes off the young people's access to world culture. Besides which, monolingualism restricts their competitiveness in the labour market. In our multinational country not knowing the Russian language is as bad as not knowing Kazakh."

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово... 25/03/2004).

However, the article from which this is drawn contains reports from seven other oblasts, all of which focus entirely on the need to raise the status of Kazakh by various means and none of which mention the continued validity of Russian or importance of English or other languages. These reports form part of a discourse which approaches the language situation as being essentially problematic, with intervention necessary to promote the use of Kazakh in a wider range of environments to the exclusion of Russian in particular and to forcibly increase its status in relation to other languages including Russian.

For example, reporting on the situation in Aktobinskaya oblast, one author (whose opinion is echoed in accounts from other oblasts as well as in other articles) states that whilst the letter of the law is fulfilled, in that documents are being transferred from Russian into Kazakh, the law's intended aim of increasing the status of Kazakh in official spheres is not achieved as this is the result of translation from a Russian original. The authors of these articles imply that the Kazakh edition of a document

should be primary and take precedence over the Russian edition, as a translation from a Russian original does not reflect the high status the Kazakh version should have (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово... 25/03/2004).†

In a *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* article published the previous year (Где ты, казахская волна? 13/12/2003), the vice-president for the society promoting the Kazakh language, *Kazakh Tili*, sets out his views on the continuing problems of language use in Kazakhstan 15 years after the first law about languages. He sees the ongoing predominance of Russian in many spheres as problematic and also considers Kazakh to be threatened by the rise of the use of English.†

He gives a long list of situations in which Russian is used, minimizes those in which Kazakh is used, and uses a metaphor of domination in describing the Russian language as “ruling absolutely” (“безраздельно властвует”), all of which reveal the author’s negative attitude towards this practice and his perception of the Russian language as forcibly suppressing the use of Kazakh. The discourse here is one of the Kazakh land and language once more under threat from hostile colonial powers. The theme of invasion is further invoked in the description of English as becoming dominant on the “sovereign territory of Kazakhstan”³⁰, creating an impression of that language as an invading force pushing Kazakh out from its rightful place.

Another, later article from the same paper is also very clear that the current language situation is a problem that needs active intervention to remedy. The author introduces the article with the following statements.

7:36 “The problem of expanding the sphere of use of the state language increasingly worries the community of our country. Moreover, not only inhabitants of the root nationality, but representatives of other peoples living alongside Kazakhs step out in defence of the Kazakh language.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Импульс развитию языка, 20/03/2005).

³⁰ “на территории суверенного Казахстана”

Again the impression is created that the Kazakh language needs to be “defended” against the invasive presence of other languages in spheres where Kazakh rightfully belongs.

The article contains an interview with a representative of a government Committee for Languages. The committee representative outlines what has already been achieved towards the promotion of Kazakh as well as talking about the problems and challenges to be faced, particularly in the spheres of education and administration. The final question implies that maybe Kazakhstan should follow the example of countries such as France in establishing extensive state protection for and promotion of the ‘root’ language (“‘коренного’ языка”), the adjective often employed to designate the eponymous ethnic group or their language. The reply given indicates a favourable response to such a suggestion. The interviewee believes that Kazakhstan will only truly achieve the status of being a “civilised” independent country when the Kazakh language dominates in at least all official spheres³¹. However, he offers no further indication as to what he believes constitutes being “civilised”, nor whether he considers Kazakhstan currently to be “uncivilised”. The implication of his words is that for a country to be civilised its designated state language must be the most prestigious language in common use in that country and be employed in the state apparatus. For Kazakhstan it appears then that to be “civilised” means to forge a new linguistic identity clearly different from that which prevailed during past eras of colonial and Soviet domination, and from Russia, arguably Kazakhstan’s most significant outgroup with which comparisons are made and from which distinctiveness must be maintained. To be civilised is to be positively distinct from relevant others.[†]

However, even in some of these articles advocating strong measures to ensure the absolute predominance of Kazakh over Russian there are also elements of the discourse clearly evident amongst the interview participants of the importance of preserving inter-ethnic harmony in Kazakhstan as this is felt to be one of the country’s most positive defining characteristics.

As referred to in relation to a national character, in terms of language policy several of the articles confirm the constitutional protection afforded to languages other than Kazakh for the benefit of the many other people groups resident in Kazakhstan (although such protection does not match that afforded to the Kazakh language itself). In an article discussing the development of the use of Kazakh the introductory paragraph states that

7:38 “The President of the country has more than once emphasised that representatives of other peoples always retain the right to speak in their native language and to be understood.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский язык – твой, мой, наш, 16/12/2003).

Similarly, a later article by the head of the Atirau oblast office for the development of languages discusses the support afforded to the minority ethnic groups in Kazakhstan and their languages (although once again Kazakhs are the first point of reference and all other peoples and languages, including Russian, are secondary and ‘other’) and describes how every year festivals of the languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan are held in the oblast, in which the celebrations relevant to each of these peoples are marked (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005).†

The idea suggested above of learning about the cultures, languages and celebrations of the various ethnic minorities of Kazakhstan is one which featured in several of the Shymkent participants’ responses. Whilst there might not be many obvious cultural features (and by implication no single language) seen as genuinely uniting all Kazakhstanis, the culture of tolerance itself and of being interested in other ethnic groups and willing to learn about them and from them is argued to be a unifying feature of contemporary Kazakhstani society and something to be proud of and celebrated.

³¹ “Во всех цивилизованных странах государственный язык имеет должный статус”

The report in *Ekspress-K* discussed previously (see section 7.3), which describes a concert held in Taraz to celebrate Slavonic writing and culture is an example of this. The author notes that participants came from both Russian and Kazakh schools and united to celebrate the Russian literature and language by reciting poems and performing songs and dances (*Ekspress-K*, Я русский бы выучил только за то..., 27/05/2004).

Similarly, an article in *Liter* celebrates the achievements of an ethnically Russian school girl who speaks Kazakh fluently and is also highly competent at playing the *dombra*, the Kazakh national instrument (*Liter*, На Казахском без акцента, 30/04/2005).

One of the articles published in *Ekspress-K* describes how students of the South Kazakhstan State University (S.K.S.U.) have set up their own mini-assembly of the peoples involving representatives of 32 different nationalities. The vice principal of the university, Nurzhan Altaev, stated that as one of the largest and most multinational universities in the region it is extremely important that, “representatives of every nation feel comfortable”³². The article continues by describing the assembly’s purpose.

7:40 “The foundational aim which members of the Small Assembly of Nations of the S.K.S.U. have put before themselves is the all-round development of the national cultures, languages and traditions of the representatives of the nations studying at the university.

The preservation of stability and inter-national agreement in the country is one of the important tasks facing the country’, says Nurzhan Altaev. Kazakhstani students must also promote this.”

(*Ekspress-K*, Национальность – студент, 23/07/03).

The rhetoric here is of individual responsibility in response to the country’s needs. The country needs stability and inter-national agreement and therefore individuals should promote these qualities. This culture of respect and mutual understanding is

³² а потому крайне важно, чтобы представители каждой народности чувствовали себя в университете комфортно

also promoted by the president. After hearing an ethnically Russian language teacher (of Kazakh and French) address a conference in Kazakh, Nazarbaev is reported to have said that

7:41 “[P]eople who honour the language and culture of another people deserve great respect and the same attitude towards their language and towards themselves” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

From the foregoing it is clear that beliefs about language play a central role in competing conceptions of Kazakhstani culture. However, whilst the relative importance of various languages is contested there does seem to be agreement about the importance of maintaining peace and stability in the country and this theme is prominent in both the interview responses and numerous newspaper articles.

Also apparent in the interview responses was the unifying effect of sport as Kazakhstanis of all ethnic backgrounds united in support of teams or individuals representing the country at sporting events. This theme was not evident in the newspaper articles reviewed although it is likely that this is primarily a result of the topics searched for in selecting the articles; these being ‘Kazakh language’, ‘Russian language’, ‘English language’ and ‘education’, as described in the introduction to the present chapter. Interestingly articles retrieved as a result of a search for ‘Kazakhstani’ in the archives of each of the three papers being reviewed are predominantly reports of sporting occasions or achievements. This in itself is a strong indication that sport is the primary sphere in which a united Kazakhstani identity is a reality. Although the more formal, politically oriented phrase, ‘citizen of Kazakhstan’ is also employed as a term inclusive of all ethnic groups, the fact that relatively few reports other than those pertaining to sport contain the descriptor ‘Kazakhstani’ may indicate that in many areas of life ethnic labels are still deemed to be relevant and that a genuine, culturally unified identity has yet to be established.

7.5 The Discursive Construction of a Common Political Present and Future

Participants in the interviews in Shymkent oriented to a number of topics relating to the linguistic construction of a common political present and future. These included discussions of the importance of citizenship and of political achievements and virtues as well as hopes for the future and ongoing problems and challenges faced by the country.

Some of the Shymkent interviewees focussed primarily on civil aspects of a Kazakhstani identity stating that each ethnic group was culturally different but united by citizenship in Kazakhstan and also by the public holidays celebrated there. This discourse, of the unifying nature of holidays and celebrations is echoed in some of the newspaper articles reviewed. For example, the report in *Ekspress-K* about the celebration of Slavonic writing and culture in Taraz (*Ekspress-K*, Я русский бы выучил только за то..., 27/05/2004) highlights the fact that Russians and Kazakhs were united in appreciation of the examples of Russian language and culture on display. Similarly, the article discussing the Turkish diaspora in Kazakhstan (*Ekspress-K*, Формула единства, 5/05/2004, also quoted above in extracts 7:13 and 7:14) was written when a group of these Turks gathered together to mark the day of unity of the peoples of Kazakhstan and focuses on the sense of accord between ethnic groups in the country.

Moreover, one of the political virtues that featured in the interviewees' discourse and which has also been discussed above in relation to other themes, is that of the inter-ethnic harmony believed to characterise Kazakhstan and be a significant achievement of the republic and its government since it acquired independence. The ongoing preservation of inter-ethnic peace in Kazakhstan provides a positive distinction from other post-Soviet countries and the former Yugoslavia where this has not been the case, which are referred to (in both individual discourse and government rhetoric) as relevant for comparison.

The protection granted to minority languages in the constitution was highlighted in the preceding section. An article published in *Ekspress-K*, reporting primarily on a

Kazakh language contest, goes on to describe how this theoretical support for other languages is to be out-worked in practice.

7:42 “[C]onditions are being created in Kazakhstan for the harmonious ethno-cultural development of all the peoples living there... [O]ut of 7989 comprehensive schools, in 2062 schools teaching is carried out in different languages, out of which number 15 are studied as native languages. Besides this, more than 170 Sunday schools operate at the national cultural centres, at which representatives of the ethnic communities have the opportunity to study 23 native languages.”
(*Ekspress-K*, Конкурс языкознателей, 24/09/2003)

This openness to such a large number of languages and cultures is presented as being one of the chief political virtues of the government of the independent republic. In an article discussing the progress of the president’s 2030 campaign for the development of Kazakhstan the author, who is the director of the Kazakhstani Institute for Strategic Research for the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, affirms the value of the priority given in the campaign to preserving inter-ethnic accord (*Liter*, Наша программа – не догма, 12/10/2005).†

Moreover, at a conference for education and science workers the leader of the president’s administration addressed the delegates and said that in the recent elections, won by the president’s party

7:44 “The people voted, not just for the presidential party, but also for stability, for international accord, for economic prosperity.”
(*Liter*, “Образованных” посадят в калошу, 13/10/2004).

Similarly, in an article reporting on a gathering for ethnic Kazakhs from around the world in the new capital, one of the delegates, visiting from Russia, is reported as saying that

7:45 “The main thing is that peace has been preserved in Kazakhstan, and everyone feels equal and worthy as citizens of the country. The homeland of the Kazakhs has not just been preserved but is developing and becoming a power in the Eurasian continent.”
(*Liter*, За державу не обидно, 30/09/2005).

The above quote reveals a vision of Kazakhstan as a peaceful multi-ethnic state in which all citizens are equal but which is none the less recognised as first and foremost the homeland of the Kazakhs, a discourse discussed in preceding sections. The latter two excerpts also illustrate the fact that Kazakhstan's economic progress since independence is another political achievement referred to with pride. This was also a prominent theme in the Shymkent participants' contributions. Interviewees often mentioned that they were proud that Kazakhstan had come through the economic crisis in the years immediately after the break up of the Soviet Union and is now more economically prosperous than the other Central Asian states. This is echoed in part of Nazarbaev's speech at the opening of the architectural-memorial complex. He claims that Kazakhstan is a leader amongst the countries of the CIS and links the political and economic development of the country with a strengthened sense of self-awareness on the part of its citizens. This may be an acknowledgement of the fact that the republic's citizens are better able to feel a positive sense of ingroup worth and hence more likely to identify strongly with the Kazakhstani ingroup when the country is perceived to have a high status in comparison with relevant outgroups and a secure future as a group.[†]

That economic development remains a high priority for Nazarbaev's government for the foreseeable future is made clear in the article discussing the progress of the 2030 development strategy. The report states that

7:47 "There is one more important priority – economic growth, based on the development of the economy with a high level of investment. This priority will not change before 2030, although from year to year the direction of investment will be adjusted. Today Kazakhstan needs investment not in mining, as a few years ago, but in processing."

(*Liter*, Наша программа – не догма, 12/10/2005).

This statement shows not only that economic development is a priority for the coming years but also draws attention to progress already made, in that areas once in need of investment are now established and new opportunities are opening up for further investment and development. By this means and also by mentioning the

adjustments to be made each year the author stresses the government's ongoing role in creating and facilitating the country's economic success.

The continued involvement of the president in pushing for economic progress is also highlighted in an article from *Liter* (Welcome, инвестиции! 15/06/2005) describing an international business conference in Almaty entitled: 'Kazakhstan is attracting a new wave of investment: strategies for diversification and stable growth'³³. The article quotes the president's address to the conference in which he outlines his aim of Kazakhstan gaining entry to the World Trade Organisation. †

The same article goes on to quote the president of the 'Asian Society' who also addressed the conference.

7:49 "Kazakhstan has achieved significant success on the way to integration in the international economy... In the course of this conference the possibilities for the diversification of the economy of Kazakhstan, which is based primarily on natural resources based industry, will be discussed."
(*Liter*, Welcome, инвестиции! 15/06/2005).

As well as economic prosperity for its own sake, integration and recognition on the world stage also seems to be a high priority and this is once again reminiscent of the interviewees' pride in Kazakhstan's status relative to that of other Central Asian states. Such high status helps promote a secure and positive ingroup identity for group members. Developing an identity as a modern state of international significance is thus a priority for both Nazarbaev and many of his citizens. The article discussed above reporting on the economic conference begins by describing how Nazarbaev addressed delegates in English and comments on the significance of this.

7:50 "At the evening reception at the Almaty residence he addressed the guests freely in the language of international communication, which, in itself is symbolic confirmation of Kazakhstan's striving towards integration in the world sphere."
(*Liter*, Welcome, инвестиции! 15/06/2005).

There are further indications of the importance Nazarbaev places on presenting Kazakhstan as a country of significance on the world stage in other articles. A *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* report on an educational conference describes the president's description of the country's ongoing development and electoral reforms in which he states his desire that the country become a "natural part of the global world"³⁴ (Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).†

Several of the articles report on Nazarbaev's comments about education in Kazakhstan and the need to improve all levels of the educational system for the country to be economically prosperous and become competitive at an international level. The article described above about the economic conference is one of these. In it, the president's belief that economic success depends on educational excellence rather than just monetary investment is outlined ³⁵(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).†

Similarly, an article describing the president's meeting with the principals of higher education institutions in Almaty describes the importance to Nazarbaev of reforming the education system.

7:54 "The leadership of Kazakhstan has set itself a priority task – to raise education to a maximally high level of quality. Integration into the world education system is necessary and cannot be effectively realised without appropriate reorganisation of the existing structures, levels and qualifications of universities."
(*Liter*, Высшее преОбразование, 08/09/2005).

Moreover, in an article reporting on various gifted students meeting with the president, one of the students, a maths champion, also links educational success with the country's status on the world stage.

³³ Казахстан привлекает новую волну инвестиций: стратегии по диверсификации и устойчивому росту

³⁴ "стать органичной частью глобального мира"

³⁵ "экономические успехи государств определяются их системами образования, образованностью граждан"

7:55 “- My gold medal is an acknowledgement of the ability of our country to compete at the very highest educational standard – says this talented young man.” (*Ekspress-K*, Умники и умницы, 31/10/2003).

The article goes on to describe the president’s interest in a maths project which had achieved recognition at an international exhibition and his response to this success.

7:56 ““We need to develop science, it is precisely the natural and exact sciences which are necessary for the advance of our state’, such is the opinion of Nursultan Nazarbaev. ‘Up to 2015 the economy of our country will grow three and a half times, and you, talented young people, will be a part of that’.” (*Ekspress-K*, Умники и умницы, 31/10/2003).

The themes of economic prosperity and recognition at an international level are thus widespread in the news articles selected. There is a focus on the achievements of Nazarbaev and his government and the way in which the president confidently and specifically states that the economy will grow in extract 7:56 above portrays a sense of personal control and direction for the country on the part of Nazarbaev. However, in general crediting the country’s prosperity to Nazarbaev individually is more apparent in the interviewees’ responses than in the articles reviewed. Furthermore, whilst the interview participants’ responses included references to the benefits of the freedoms associated with independence as a state and the end of the Communist era, there is little evidence of such a discourse in the newspaper articles reviewed.

As well as pride in what has already been accomplished, there is also a strong sense of confidence in the ongoing development of the state in both the interviews and the news articles and hence an assurance for its citizens of a positive and secure national identity, particularly in relation to the relevant outgroups of the other newly independent Central Asian states. Similarly, both data sets include aspirations for future improvements in the sphere of education in particular.

Several of the articles include details of Nazarbaev addressing the issue of educational development and stating that it is a priority for him and his government. In an article published in Pravda covering a conference about education a great deal

of space is given to recounting the details of the president's address to the delegates (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).†

In this speech Nazarbaev emphasises the central importance of education for the government and the country as a whole and creates the impression that he is aware of what his citizens throughout the country are discussing and is already putting in place measures to develop education as people wish. Similarly, by stressing the increased budget he is able to highlight Kazakhstan's continued and secure economic growth to enable such a project to be carried out.

Later in the article Nazarbaev's modernizing and liberalising credentials are again highlighted as changes to the education system since independence are listed, although there is also an acknowledgement that these changes alone have not enabled education to reach the high standard desired.†

Once again reference is made to reaching an "international standard," although no indication is given how such a standard can be objectively measured. The repeated references to reaching such a standard indicate though, that for Nazarbaev, status comparisons with other countries are an important and relevant measure of Kazakhstan's success as a state (by maintaining positive distinctiveness from relevant outgroups), and having a world-class education system is part of the identity Nazarbaev would like for the state. The article ends by describing the president's assurance to the delegates that improving education is a high priority for his government.†

A number of other articles also focus on problems within the education system, with a particular emphasis on the need for better textbooks, and on government efforts to improve matters. There are articles from each of the three papers reviewed dealing with these themes indicating that the discourse of the need to improve education is prevalent in the media as well as being mentioned by a number of the Shymkent interviewees as a present problem and hope for future development.

One of the articles from *Ekspress-K* reports on a press conference given by the vice-minister for education at the start of the 2004-2005 academic year. He describes the number of new schools about to open and how many others have undergone repairs and improvements. He also asserts that there is an increasing demand for Kazakh medium of instruction schools and describes the improvement in the level of technology available to many schools whilst stressing that there is still a long way to go in this respect to bring the schools up to the desired level of technological provision (Первый звонок, 26/08/2004).†

This article reveals the vice-minister's desire to highlight the fact that independent Kazakhstan is increasingly identified by the Kazakh language as citizens freely choose to send their children to Kazakh language schools whilst also once again stressing the fact that other languages are still given room (if not parity with Kazakh) in Kazakhstan. The wish to show that the government is making progress towards the aim of bringing the education system up to international standards is also brought to the fore by the focus on technological improvements. However it is accepted that this is an ongoing process and continued improvement remains a priority for the years ahead.

One of the main areas about which concern is expressed is the perceived lack of a sufficient quantity and quality of textbooks. A number of articles focus on this theme as one of the main problems within the education system. An article published in *Liter* reporting on a congress for education and science workers quotes the president as he comments on this issue, giving examples of errors he has seen in school books and describing the consequences of such poor materials when he states that "such falsifications won't make school pupils into patriots of the country who will be proud of their history"³⁶ ("Образованных" посадят в калошу, 13/10/2004).†

³⁶ "[Т]акими фальсификациями не сделаешь школьников патриотами страны, которые будут гордиться своей историей"

This article reveals not only a discourse of dissatisfaction with present educational materials but also an ideological reason behind some of this dissatisfaction. Nazarbaev wants educational material that will foster an appropriate national identity and pride and is therefore concerned that the mistakes in the history book will not engender a suitable pride and respect for the territory's past but will instead provoke ridicule, thus not giving the status he desires to the Kazakh background of the republic's history.

Another article from *Liter* also begins with a focus on the ideological importance and aims of textbooks. The article describes the many mistakes and problems associated with a newly published textbook for studying the Russian language for year 8 pupils and argues that such a book will do very little either to help academically or to promote respect for the Russian language or for Kazakhstan.

The author of this article orients at the start of the discussion to the fact that a country's language textbooks are about more than knowledge of the language in question, they are about the "ethics and philosophy" of that language and about discovering which historical figures are approved to represent the language and culture of that people.

7:62 "In all times and among all peoples the study of the foundations of the grammar, rhetoric and poetry begins with an introduction to the ethics and philosophy of the national language and the creative legacy of those who have historical merit in the study, development and propaganda of the given language." (*Liter*, О "безмольное" небо! 25/01/2005).†

In this way the identity forming nature of textbooks is focussed on as they are acknowledged to be a valued means of communicating group norms and values and ensuring that they are adhered to by the next generation of group members.

The author goes on to quote the introductory poem in praise of the Russian language and ridicule its poor literary quality before revealing that after much effort he discovered the author to be not one of the accepted cultural representatives like those described, but a contemporary academic in the field of physics with no literary

background, and thus (in his opinion) no suitable credentials for communicating the “ethics and philosophy” associated with the Russian language community. By beginning the article in this way the author implies that the failure of the textbook in these terms is as serious as the factual and stylistic errors which he goes on to enumerate.

Other articles too describe the lack of quality textbooks as one of the main problems facing the education system. Also cited as problems to be addressed are the lack of well qualified teachers and poor quality teaching, particularly of the Kazakh language. As indicated above, the lack of computers and access to the internet and of teachers trained to use such technology are also described in some of the articles. These educational challenges all threaten the desired identity of Kazakhstan as a modern state able to compete academically and economically at an international level, which emerges in the discourse of both the interviews and the newspaper articles.

In discussions of threats to a positive state identity a number of the interview participants cited corruption as an ongoing problem. However, this discourse is not a prominent feature of the newspaper articles selected, although it does appear in one article published in *Liter*. This article outlines the policies of the presidential candidates standing against Nazarbaev in the 2005 elections. Each of the four candidates has some policies to deal with corruption (Что предлагает казахстанцам «великолепная четверка»? 18/11/2005).[†]

The fact that this is the only context in which fighting corruption is found indicates that it is a minority and oppositional discourse and that the dominant discourse focuses on the achievements and successes of government without mention of this problem. Acknowledging corruption is a challenge to the positive identity of an internationally acceptable, competitive state attractive to foreign investors and therefore runs counter to the official discourse which concentrates on just such an image.

It is clear then that there are a number of discourses prominent in the newspaper articles selected which relate to the linguistic construction of a common political present and future and which overlap with those present in the interview participants' responses relating to these themes.

7.6 The Discursive Construction of a 'National Body'

The final area of thematic content being utilised for this research is that of the linguistic construction of a 'national body'. This encompasses discourses relating to the landscape and its use and development and to the national territory.

Amongst the Shymkent interviewees there were many who made reference to the landscape of Kazakhstan and there was a discourse of the people and their characteristics being shaped by the land in which they dwell, both in terms of the physical characteristics of the landscape and in terms of Kazakhstan's location between Europe and Asia with the different cultures and world-views associated with each of these. In the media articles reviewed, the steppe landscape is mentioned prominently in Nazarbaev's speech in praise of the historical hero Makhambet as having shaped that leader's character.

7:64 "...there is in Makhambet much which is unique, special characteristics and traits, such that the poet cannot be confused with any other at any time who has lived or will live on the earth. It is his uniqueness, predestined and coming from his roots in the heart of the ancient culture of the Steppe, the original nature of his talent, which is given to a man only with the sun of the father region, only with the hard native earth, only with the waters of the maternal rivers."
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

Kazakhstan's landscape is largely characterised by the great expanse of the steppe, and in this excerpt Nazarbaev personifies the land giving it powers of predestination and nurture, with Makhambet portrayed as a plant with roots in the culture, and needing the sun, earth and waters of Kazakhstan to thrive. The other imagery employed is that of Kazakhstan holding both paternal and maternal relationships with Makhambet such that he is portrayed as being literally a son of Kazakhstan, produced and shaped by his country. This theme is repeated later in the speech when

Nazarbaev describes Makhambet as being a “son of the Steppe”³⁷. By making this explicit link with the land itself as the source of Makhambet and his talents, Nazarbaev is able to suggest that there is a direct link between the hero and Kazakhstan’s present-day inhabitants who can still be moulded by the same landscape and trace their roots back to the same ancient steppe culture.

The link between the land and Makhambet’s talents is further emphasised when Nazarbaev describes him as being “the last steppe philosopher,”³⁸ thus implying that the wisdom and philosophy of the steppe is somehow different from other philosophy, thereby emphasising both Makhambet’s origins and his uniqueness.

Another text which strongly identifies the people and their culture with the landscape is that describing the publication of a book of Kazakh folk sayings. The title of the article, “Gold of the Steppe”, highlights the importance of the landscape, metonymically suggesting that it is the steppe itself (rather than the people) which is the origin of the rich selection of sayings collected. The report states that

7:65 “In the pages of this collection, you won’t tire of being surprised by the folk wisdom and steppe perceptiveness.”
(*Ekspress-K*, Золото степи, 30/11/2004).

This echoes the ideas expressed by a number of the interview participants that the landscape has shaped the character of the people. Here, the words steppe “perceptiveness” or “farsightedness” (“степной прозорливости”) create the impression that the open expanses of the steppe result in these characteristics of perception and farsightedness being shown by the people moulded by that landscape. Similarly, the Shymkent participants make connections between the land and the character of the people. One of the teachers quoted in chapter 5 (5:114) in relation to the interview participants’ linguistic construction of a national body links the open landscape of the steppe with the characteristic of hospitality. Her words are repeated below.

³⁷ “Махамбет и есть сын Степи”

³⁸ “последний степной философ”

7:66 “In general our Kazakhs, you can say, if you look at the steppe, it’s so vast and boundless and the Kazakh spirit is also like that, hospitable, open.

For the participants who expressed views such as this, the landscape of Kazakhstan has shaped the character of its people and the identity traits with which the historical people of Kazakhstan were imbued are still evident in the contemporary population, thus emphasising the continuity of relationship between land and people.

The ideology of the people of the steppe and their culture being something to be admired and emulated and to which today’s Kazakhstanis are connected is also expressed in another article dealing with a people’s need for heroes and for links with their past. This article was discussed above in relation to the theme of a common political past. The author uses the phrase “steppe-dweller” twice within this section of text, which draws attention to the link between the people he describes and their physical setting; the people are primarily identified by the landscape in which they live.

7:67 “Numerous epic historians, Kazakh poet singers, musicians, story-tellers and simple steppe-dwellers from century to century extolled the exploits of their ancestors. All this couldn’t but settle in the memory of generations... the simple people made their own heroes from the people. Thus, the previous epoch accomplished a great work in order that every steppe-dweller would be filled with love for his ancestors and his roots.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты герой нашего времени? 28/10/2005).

The idea that the steppe-dwellers remembered their predecessor’s achievements “from age to age”, or “from century to century”³⁹ engenders a sense of seamless continuity and of a timeless bond between the land and the people which in turn has entered the consciousness of many generations as a collective memory identifying the people with their past in that place. Later in the article the author suggests that the problem with many contemporary young people is that they have lost this collective memory and don’t ask the questions “who are we?”, “where have we come from?”, or appreciate the sacrifices of past generations to give them the status they enjoy

today. This suggests a paradox in that the link with past generations and with the land is portrayed as being inherited and yet also as being something which must be sought after and discovered through questioning. The author describes meeting a group of young (ethnically Kazakh) people with little respect for the Kazakh language and expresses the opinion that if they were to read *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* and become familiar with an article published there about the military exploits of past heroes then

7:68 “probably they would ask themselves the simple questions: ‘who are we?’, ‘where have we come from?’ They would think about whether they had become so relaxed, well dressed and good-looking themselves or whether such a life had been prepared for them by the previous generations of heroic warriors who, in the years of the ‘*Aktaban-shybirindi*’ (Great disaster) scattered the whole of *Semirech* with their bones.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты, герой нашего времени? 28/10/2005).

In this article, despite the fact that the main text is in Russian, the author uses the Kazakh label for the “Great disaster” (“Актабан шубырынды”) first and gives the Russian in parenthesis afterwards. This serves to highlight that it was a Kazakh disaster experienced by the Kazakh people and named by them as such. It presents Kazakh as the medium through which ‘Kazakhness’ is experienced and reveals the irony that, without knowledge of the Kazakh language, the young people in question would not know this name for an important part of their own past and hence are, in a way, cut off from it.

There is a strong theme of continuity expressed in a number of the newspaper articles in which the land and continuous habitation on the territory of what is now Kazakhstan is used to construct a discourse of timelessness and legitimacy for the state and its eponymous population and culture.

The article quoted above creates the impression that for Kazakhs to be cut off from their language is simultaneously to be cut off from their people’s past and hence from their identity; they can no longer answer the fundamental questions of identity,

³⁹ “из века в век”

“who are we?”, “where have we come from?” and they have lost the group memory of the steppe people passed through the generations from “age to age” which provides answers to these questions.

A discourse constructing Kazakhstan as a land whose unproblematic existence reaches back into the ancient past such that the present-day republic has a coherent history stretching from then until the present is also evident in an article from *Ekspress-K* quoted earlier (Эти блестящие блестящие “Образцы...”, 01/10/2004). The piece reports on the publication of a collection of Kazakh oral literature originally collected by Russian and European travellers in the region.†

In this text the author describes the examples of Kazakh oral literature as “immortal” (“бессмертные”), creating an impression of a timeless culture which had always been there and would never end, something to be treated with due respect, “carefully and tremulously”⁴⁰. The ideology of a timeless land and culture existing in the distant past but directly connected to the present is also expressed in the use of the pronoun “эта” in reference to the Kazakh land, “this Kazakh land”⁴¹. The land that those travellers visited is emphasised as being *this* land, the same land that is still Kazakhstan today, furthermore it is *Kazakh* land, it belonged to that people then as it does today. In this way the land is established as standing for the timelessness and permanence of Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people.

This discourse of continuity, of a Kazakhstan that has always existed, is also evident in an article from *Liter* describing a conference discussing the needs of the Kazakh diaspora. It is reported that one family living in Britain wishes to be able to return to Kazakhstan so that their children can get to know their “historical homeland” (“историческая родина”). It states that

7:70 “Beyshir Zhanaltai, a Kazakh from England, is ready to leave prosperous Europe and move to the homeland of his ancestors”.

⁴⁰ “бережно и трепетно”

⁴¹ “эту казахскую землю”

(*Liter*, За державу не обидно, 30/09/2005).

It is this unproblematical correlation between the “homeland of his ancestors” and the present-day Republic of Kazakhstan which constitutes part of the discourse of permanence and legitimacy for Kazakhstan under discussion. It is even more readily apparent in another *Liter* article (Что имеем – сохраним! 28/01/05) reporting a meeting between president Nazarbaev and members of the council charged with realising the government’s programme for preserving and promoting the country’s cultural heritage. This article was quoted above in the discussion of a common political past (7:28).

This article also describes a direct link between the territory of what is now Kazakhstan in ancient times and the republic today as well as between the inhabitants of that land both then and now and asserts a continuity of cultural values associated with the territory. In this way the gradual emergence of Kazakhstan as a recognisable geographic, cultural or political unit distinct from others in the region is forgotten. Instead a rhetorical strategy of continuity is constructed in which Kazakhstan and its people are presented as timeless and ever-present.

A similar strategy is used in Nazarbaev’s speech commemorating Makhambet and Isatay. Discussing the Soviet era, the president states that

7:71 “It is impossible to measure the loss which, at the time of the thoughtless anti-national policy was brought to our blessed land, to our cities and settlements which, long ago served as the cradle of the original steppe civilisation.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

Thus, by describing Kazakhstan as “serving as the cradle of the original steppe civilisation”⁴², Nazarbaev not only claims a cultural status for Kazakhstan over the other states of Central Asia as being the origin of steppe culture but also constructs a direct and continuous link between that ancient civilisation and the towns and settlements of contemporary Kazakhstan.

⁴² “послужившим колыбелью самобытной степной цивилизации”

The theme of continuity is expressed very prominently in this speech. Nazarbaev describes this sense of continuity and the importance of history for today's citizens as being very much rooted in the land itself, which provides reminders of what and who have gone before. This section of the text of Nazarbaev's speech was also discussed above in relation to the construction of a common political past (see also quote 7:19 in Appendix C).

Nazarbaev links the physical reminders of history in the surrounding landscape such as burial mounds on the steppe with the deeds of specific individuals chosen to represent the "ancient Kazakh people". Again the Kazakh people is presented as having been in recognisable existence since ancient times and a direct connection is made between that ancient people and the present day state.

The theme of continuity is repeatedly reinforced by Nazarbaev's numerous references to the fact that the independence Kazakhstan enjoys today was something which today's Kazakhs' ancestors, Isatay and Makhambet among them, fought for and dreamt of.

7:72 "Nursultan Nazarbaev emphasised that a people which has fought for freedom, is worthy of respect, and the Kazakh people has always defended its freedom in battle."

"The head of state emphasised that the greatest property of our people is its independence, and our ancestors knew this well, it was in the name of it that they fought and died. Therefore today monuments are being erected in all corners of our republic – this is a low bow from our generation to the spirit and memory of those who fell in the name of and on the path to independence. Especially now, when we live in a free country, about which our great ancestors long dreamt, we must not forget that our most noble and treasured aim is the national spirit"

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

Here the president uses the imagery of the "path to independence"⁴³, which is again a way of constructing a discourse of continuity, suggesting that the country has been following a purposeful direction throughout its history and has now in some sense

‘arrived’ as an independent state. Today’s Kazakhstan is the fulfilment of the dream of the people’s ancestors whose tangible presence is still felt in the shape of monuments now appearing ‘in all corners of the republic’ providing a sense of continuity between their time and the present, between their struggle and today’s independence.

The same theme of continuity between past, present and future generations is also emphasised later in the speech. Nazarbaev again describes independence as a dream for past heroes which has now been fulfilled.

7:73 “Isatay and Makhambet dreamt about the freedom and independence of their country, about unity and solidarity and today we, their descendents, admire the spirit of the great freedom fighters and our duty before our ancestors and before our children – is to always hold high the banner of freedom...”

“Now, we can say with confidence: yes, today the great dream, for which our great ancestor Makhambet lived and fought has come true. His people has got rid of the fetters of slavery and become the fully empowered master of its own fate.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

In the above texts Nazarbaev presents Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people as being eternal, having existed together since ancient times. Elsewhere in his speech the president presents certain aspects of the Kazakh character as being similarly immortal, rooted in pre-history and still evident today.

Nazarbaev constructs a discourse of ancient provenance for the Kazakh people and describes that people’s characteristic love for freedom as being something permanent and unchangeable; an “indomitable, ineradicable love for freedom”⁴⁴ and their character as being “stoical” (“стоическому характеру”). These character traits are described as being the reason for the people’s continued existence and even prosperity despite the struggles they are described as having had over the centuries.

⁴³ “пути к независимости”

⁴⁴ “неукротимой, неистребимой любви к свободе”

The Kazakh people is thus constructed as being immortal and victorious due to its own inherent virtues and despite great hardships.

The president further highlights these characteristics by stressing the continuity of the struggle for freedom, describing it as ongoing through the era of Makhambet and beyond into the years of the Soviet Union.[†]

By stressing the continuity of the struggle for independence, Nazarbaev adds legitimacy to the claim that the independent Republic of Kazakhstan today is the fulfilment of a dream and achievement of an aim that the Kazakh people have fought for since their origins in the ancient past. It is part of the theme of immortality, continuity and consistency constructed around Kazakhstan and the Kazakh people.

A similar immortality of character is claimed for the Kazakhs and their culture by Nazarbaev in this speech when he describes how cultural heroes, “giants of the spirit of the people”,⁴⁵ have left an “indelible mark on the homeland’s history”⁴⁶ and will “remain forever in the people’s memory”⁴⁷. Similarly, he describes the military-philosophical reflections of another hero, Dosmanbet, as an “inexhaustible mine of folk wisdom, an inextinguishable life-giving spring for the national spirit”⁴⁸. By choosing words such as “indelible”, “forever”, “inexhaustible” and “inextinguishable”, Nazarbaev constructs an ideology of permanence and continuity for the Kazakh people.

However, there is a discourse running counter to this which is expressed even within the same speech by Nazarbaev. This is the discourse of cultural loss and destruction of the colonial and Soviet eras. This theme was discussed above in relation to the linguistic construction of a common political past. As discussed above, Nazarbaev states that it is impossible to measure the cultural loss to Kazakhstan brought about

⁴⁵ “исполинов народного духа”

⁴⁶ “неизгладимый след в отечественной истории”

⁴⁷ “навечно остаются в народной памяти”

during the Soviet era (he himself takes no responsibility for that loss despite his connection to Soviet rule). The two competing discourses are evident both in this speech and in other newspaper articles. Within this particular text Nazarbaev makes some attempt to resolve the contradiction by asserting that the people themselves are the true culture-carriers and that as long as the Kazakh people as an ethnic group survive then the continuity and permanence associated with them are also preserved.

7:75 “Somebody will lift their hand to burn ancient books and manuscripts. Someone will take on their soul the sin of destroying the store of libraries. But if the people live healthy and unharmed, the creator, the careful guardian, the legal possessor and worthy inheritor, taking from generations of ancestors the centuries-old luggage of the cultural-historical accumulation of the nation, then nobody can ever be capable of either destroying or taking away from it these, its riches.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

In this way Nazarbaev is, to a certain extent, able to reconcile the competing discourses of cultural destruction and continuity by asserting that the people themselves are the unbroken link with the cultural riches of the past such that the culture can still be regarded as immortal despite the physical destruction of the products of that culture. This sense of continuity, carried in the character of the people themselves, is further reinforced later in the speech. Here the president again emphasises the unceasing nature of the Kazakhs’ fight for independence and the continuity of values he says has been preserved through time.

7:76 “Freedom and Equality, Sovereignty and Independence... To judge by the position of these four pillars of our national life, then the voice of Makhambet is to be heard, not just from him himself, but on behalf of the whole nation, not just from his time, but on behalf of centuries of Kazakh history. The dream about freedom and independence of the Kazakhs was not killed along with Makhambet, but like a phoenix from the ashes, rose up and called to the fight also in the year 1916 and in the year 1986.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

Following this Nazarbaev links the ancient past, recorded history and the present day. He adds further to the sense of timelessness by describing Makhambet as “our

⁴⁸ “неисчерпаемым кладезем народной мудрости, неиссякаемым животворным родником национального духа”

contemporary” (“наш современник”), claiming that he has not disappeared but is effectively still present because of the relevancy of his now-realised aims of freedom and independence. Nazarbaev also links Makhambet strongly to the land itself saying that he came to defend his native land’s “desecrated honour”⁴⁹.†

From the foregoing it is clear that the landscape and territory of Kazakhstan play a prominent role in the legitimising discourses of permanence and continuity constructed in relation to the republic. The speech given by Nazarbaev at the opening of the architectural-memorial complex in honour of Makhambet and Isatay has been analysed in some detail as it is a particularly clear example of the linguistic construction of this discourse and also shows how Nazarbaev negotiates the potential problem of the concurrent counter discourse of cultural loss. The discourse of continuity of residence on the territory of Kazakhstan and of today’s independence being the fulfilment of present-day Kazakhs’ ancestors’ hopes and struggles is also apparent in the contributions of the Shymkent interviewees and thus constitutes an important identity discourse for today’s Kazakhstanis, particularly those who are ethnically Kazakh.

7.7 Media Context: Summary

The review of a selection of articles from the on-line Kazakhstani press presented in this chapter reveals a significant degree of correlation between the discourses concerning language and national identity presented there and those present in the interview participants’ responses. The state-sponsored ideology of the centrality of the Kazakh language and culture to the identity of present day Kazakhstan has been highlighted in many of the articles. So too has the potentially conflicting ideology of multi-ethnic harmony and acceptance. The importance of a suitable interpretation of the territory’s history which highlights the ancient provenance of the Kazakh people in that place and presents Kazakhstan’s independence as being the result of generations of continuous struggle towards that aim has also been shown to recur in numerous articles. The presence of these same themes in the individual interview

⁴⁹ “поруганную честь родной земли”

contributions provides evidence of the success of Nazarbaev in shaping key aspects of state ideology and identity. However, the individual participants are not merely passive recipients of state ideology but respond to and reinterpret these themes as they themselves participate in the linguistic construction of a national identity. The construction of a Kazakhstani state identity, including the establishment and maintenance of group norms and boundaries and identification of groups relevant for comparison is thus an ongoing process in which media, state and individual linguistic output are mutually influential and collaborative.

8 State Policy

8.1 Introduction

In order to better understand the context in which the discourses explored in the media extracts and interviewees' contributions are situated, it is necessary briefly to examine specific aspects of the constitution and government policy towards languages and language use within Kazakhstan. Accordingly, this chapter investigates some state legislation and the responses of the Senators and MPs who were interviewed in relation to the construction and presentation of a state identity for independent Kazakhstan. A fuller discussion of government language policy was given in section 2.13.

8.2 The Constitution

The constitution currently in effect in Kazakhstan was ratified in January 1995 and replaced the first constitution of 1993 which had been drawn up following Kazakhstan becoming an independent state.

The introduction to the constitution states

8:1 "We the people of Kazakhstan, united by a common historic fate, creating a state on the indigenous Kazakh land, considering ourselves a peace loving and civil society, dedicated to the ideals of freedom, equality and concord, wishing to take a worthy place in the world community, realizing our high responsibility before the present and future generations, proceeding from our sovereign right, accept this Constitution."¹

There are clear parallels here with some of the discourses highlighted in the discussions of both the media extracts and the individual interviews. The ideology of present day Kazakhstan being situated on the historical territory of the Kazakh people with a concomitant emphasis on continuity and a strong identification between the history and culture of this ethnic group and the present day republic is one which was frequently encountered in the discourses of both the newspaper

¹ See Appendix E for Russian original of quotes

extracts and the interview participants. The statement here that the present day Republic of Kazakhstan has been created on “indigenous Kazakh land” indicates a prior claim on the part of the Kazakhs to the state and hence a leading role for them as an ethnic group in forging the nature and identity of the modern state. It also manages to imply the presence of another frequently encountered discourse, that of the Kazakhs’ hospitality – now extended such that by asserting that the state exists on what is the Kazakh’s land they are presented as ‘hosting’ an entire multi-ethnic state on ‘their’ land.

Similarly, and linked to the idea of Kazakh hospitality, the dedication to the ideals of “freedom, equality and concord” is echoed in the strong discourse of inter-ethnic harmony expressed by many of the interviewees and frequently idealised as a positive aspect of Kazakhstani ingroup identity in the media extracts.

That Kazakhstan wishes to “take a worthy place in the world” is a phrase evocative of the discourses discussed in previous chapters relating to the desire on the part of both individuals and the state for Kazakhstan to maintain and increase its current economic success and become a more prominent member of the world community. The less overtly expressed aspect of this ambition (in the context of the constitution if not by the interviewees) is for Kazakhstan to become more successful and achieve a higher status than particular outgroups relevant for comparison, notably Russia and the other former Soviet republics of Central Asia.

Thus the opening paragraph of the constitution lays out a desired ideology of a state identity for Kazakhstan which has successfully become a prominent and pervasive part of discourses encountered in other contexts including those of the media and of individual interaction. This ideology is also apparent in the comments about the emerging national identity made by the MPs and Senators interviewed. When asked about the development and main characteristics of a Kazakhstani identity these participants frequently engaged in the discourses of the centrality of the Kazakhs as a group and of the importance of openness and unity between ethnic groups and increasing the status of Kazakhstan discussed above. The theme of independence

being the result of a long historical struggle and the relevance of other post Soviet states for comparison which are seen in the media and interview material are also evident here.

8:2 “I think that generally all the republics of the former USSR are characterised by a feeling of national identity because they all fought for their statehood over many centuries... there’s a wish that this state would last forever. But at the same time I think it’s also openness to others... a striving for unity... the language of course first and foremost. I would say probably traditions, history, culture uh, and probably the traditions of our ancestors, traditions of our ancestors first of all because when we talk of independence we immediately talk of those who stood so much for independence... we talk about Kenessaret, all those who fought for independence, of Benbaret Jungari and others.”

8:3 “First of all it’s love for this state, secondly love for its culture, language, traditions and thirdly it’s a benevolent relationship with other nationalities and peoples and people of different faiths, and thirdly taking part in the development of Kazakhstan in its economic and other aspects.”†

The consistency with which these themes are discussed highlights their role as core aspects of the state ideology of a Kazakhstani national identity. As we have seen, the same themes are repeated and re-interpreted at different levels within Kazakhstani society and in this way are becoming established aspects of an understanding of group belonging in Kazakhstan.

8.3 Articles on Language in the Constitution

The constitution also lays out the legal foundation of the state position with regard to language and language use within the republic. Article 7 of Section I (General Provisions) of the constitution states that

- 8:7 “1. The state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan shall be the Kazak language.
2. In state institutions and local self-administrative bodies the Russian language shall be officially used on equal grounds along with the Kazak language.
3. The state shall promote conditions for the study and development of the languages of the people of Kazakhstan.”

This position is in accord with the ideology outlined above such that the language of the ethnic Kazakhs is granted the highest status as the sole state language of the

republic. The government is committed to a top-down, status planning approach favouring Kazakh above other languages in use in the republic.

This stance is consolidated by a later article of the constitution (Article 41 point 2) which stipulates that only a citizen with “a perfect command of the state language²” is eligible for the office of president. In this way the ideology of the primacy of the Kazakh ethnic group is upheld.

However, in constant tension with this is the ideology of Kazakhstan as hospitable and welcoming and of inter-ethnic accord and peace which requires an acknowledgement of the role and rights of other ethnic groups’ languages within the republic. Thus point three of article seven cited above stipulates that the state will promote the study and development of these other languages despite their lack of official status. Such an ill-defined commitment to support other group languages whilst not granting them equality with Kazakh is a reflection of the inherent tension between the ideology of the primacy of the Kazakh people and that of the multi-ethnic and harmonious nature of Kazakhstani society and the building of a national identity defined on a civic rather than an ethnic basis.

Similarly, in point two of article seven cited above, the recognition granted to the ongoing role of the Russian language is a reflection of the tension between the ideology of the primacy of Kazakh and the pragmatic need to recognise the fact that many of the personnel currently in governmental positions at least, are most comfortable and competent operating through Russian rather than Kazakh. That Russian should be “officially used on equal grounds” with the Kazakh language and yet not have equal status with that language is once again a direct result of the conflict between ideologies of Kazakh nationalisation of the state and ideologies valuing multi-ethnicity and openness to other groups. It is also an acknowledgement of the fact that in order to achieve the stated aim of Kazakhstan taking a “worthy place in the world community” (8:1) and hence growing in international status and competitiveness, maintaining use of and competence in a language of international

status such as Russian by a large proportion of the population and in particular its elite, can only be beneficial.

Subsequent articles in the constitution consolidate the ideology of openness and recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity within the republic. Article 14 point 2 in Section II (The Individual and Citizen) states that

8:8 “No one shall be subject to any discrimination for reasons of origin, social, property status, occupation, sex, race, nationality, language, attitude towards religion, convictions, place of residence or any other circumstances.”

Further, Article 19 point 2 states that

8:9 “Everyone shall have the right to use his native language and culture, to freely choose the language of communication, education, instruction and creative activities.”

Similarly, Article 39 point 2 stipulates that

8:10 “Any actions capable of upsetting inter-ethnic concord shall be deemed unconstitutional.”

As with the provision for the “development” of languages in article 7 above, further definition of what actions will be construed as upsetting inter-ethnic concord or of what it means in practice for a citizen to have the right to choose the language of instruction, for example, is absent from the constitution.

8.4 Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan

Such clarification is left to subsequent legislation such as the law ‘On Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan’ which was passed in July 1997. The introduction to this law states that

² “свободно владеющий государственным языком”

8:11 “The present law establishes the legal basis of the functioning of languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan, and the responsibilities of the state in founding conditions for their study and development, providing for the simultaneous respect for all languages used in Kazakhstan without exception.”

Article 4 of this law decrees that the state language of the republic is Kazakh. It further establishes that

8:12 “The state language is the language of state administration, legislation, legal proceedings and clerical work operating in all spheres of societal relations in the whole territory of the state.

It is the duty of every citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan to be fluent in the state language which is an important factor in the consolidation of the people of Kazakhstan.

The government of any state, local representative and executive organs are obliged to:

do all possible to develop the state language in the Republic of Kazakhstan and strengthen its international authority;

to create all necessary organisations and material and technical conditions for all citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan to be able to freely master the state language without charge;

to provide help to the Kazakh diaspora to preserve and develop their native language.”

Thus, the government’s essentialising ideology is again apparent as this document firmly establishes the Kazakh language as an integral part of the identity envisaged for the republic. It is a language which all citizens have a duty to know as a mark of group unity and belonging and the international authority of which must be increased. As noted above though, this identity function of the Kazakh language is balanced by competing markers of group belonging; multi-ethnic harmony and openness to diversity. Therefore the next provision of the legislation, article 5, is for the official use of Russian in equality with Kazakh in state organisations and the executives of local self-administration³. Subsequently, article 6, entitled ‘Care of the state for languages’, gives details of the state policy towards other ethnic groups’ languages in Kazakhstan.

³ “В государственных организациях и органах местного самоуправления наравне с казахским официально употребляется русский язык.”

8:13 “Every citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan has the right to use his native language, to the free choice of language of interaction, upbringing, instruction and creativity.

The state cares about creating the conditions for the study and development of the languages of the people of Kazakhstan.

In areas of compact habitation of national groups measures can be implemented for their languages to be used.”

Whilst the guarantee of the right of all citizens to use his or her native language in personal interaction, upbringing and creativity as provided by this article is fairly straightforward, the provision of instruction in the native language is less so. This appears to be possible only in “areas of compact habitation of national groups”.

Some further detail regarding this aspect of language policy is given in article 16 of the act which covers language in the area of education.†

This article makes it clear that in terms of status planning in education, the principal provision for linguistic development and study is reserved for the Kazakh language and provision is made to a lesser extent for Russian and still less for other languages in use in the republic. A similar situation obtains in relation to the areas of science and culture and of the mass media. With regard to the latter sphere article 18 states that the volume of programmes in Kazakh must not be less in time than the sum of the volume of programmes in other languages.†

This article once again reveals the state ideology of promoting Kazakh as the main language with which the republic is to be identified. The fact that Kazakh might not necessarily play such a role without intervention is demonstrated by the fact that the “necessary linguistic environment” is something which the government must use legislation to ‘create’. That there is some resistance to this intervention is revealed in comments made by some of the senators and MPs who were interviewed in Astana.

8:16 “...but again what does the mass media do? Watchable times are given over to the Russian language, unwatchable times, during the night for instance, or, are given to the Kazakh language and the airwaves are filled up. The law isn’t actually broken... Our people is a Russified population therefore they do it according to the population, although it’s also not right, they need to fulfil the law. They fulfil it but you see how it is carried out. After twelve at night for instance they put on all the

Kazakh language programmes. Who watches them? Or they put on music in Kazakh until six in the morning. Who listens to that or watches it?”

Whilst the MP quoted above acknowledges that television companies make decisions based on the nature of the ‘Russified’ population of Kazakhstan, others interviewed attribute the actions of the media companies simply to resistance to government policy such that they make a fuss about (8:17) “freedom of speech”† and (8:18) “make things difficult” †. This reveals the way in which the inherent tension between an ideology of the centrality of Kazakh and an acceptance of Russian (and to a lesser extent other group languages) results in the place of these languages being contested and negotiated by those in a position to influence the linguistic environment of the republic.

8.5 The State Programme on the Functioning and Development of Languages for 2001-2010

In February 2001 a decree of the president entitled ‘The state programme on the functioning and development of languages for 2001-2010’ was issued. This document, which was produced to comply with and further develop the provisions on language in the constitution and the law on languages, deals with both status and corpus aspects of language planning. It declares that there are three foundational aims associated with language function and development within the republic.

8:19 “The strategy for the development of the languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan defines three foundational aims: the broadening and strengthening of the social and communicative functions of the state language; the preservation of the cultural functions of the Russian language; the development of the languages of ethnic groups”

These aims correlate closely with the dual emphasis established in the other legislative documents discussed on a Kazakh nationalising programme balanced by measures designed to promote the state’s hospitable and peacefully multi-ethnic character. The majority of the text of the document is concerned with the first of these aims, that of extending the scope of the Kazakh language within society and describes various key areas in which this is a particular priority.

The principal of these is the functioning of Kazakh as the main language of state administration and clerical work at all levels of government service. The document cites the lack of knowledge of Kazakh on the part of many civil servants as being one of the main problems to be addressed. The importance of a planned and gradual transition to operation in Kazakh is highlighted. Moreover, plans are outlined for the provision of teaching of the Kazakh language for staff and the establishment of incentives to learn this language and clear sanctions for infringement of relevant language requirements - Cooper's acquisition planning (1989: 45). The same is true for staff in public services with the spheres of healthcare, trade, transport and communications highlighted in this context. It is planned for knowledge of Kazakh to become compulsory for all employees in these areas of work.

Another area in which the document focuses on the lack of satisfactory levels of knowledge and use of Kazakh is that of the country's armed forces. Emphasising the importance of this sphere it is written that the use of Kazakh in the armed forces (8:20) "is a question of the strengthening of national security⁴". It is noted that due to "historical circumstances" the use of Russian tends to predominate amongst staff but stipulates that officers and sergeants should be required to learn Kazakh and that provision should be made to facilitate this.

A similar emphasis on the importance of Kazakh as an integral part of the desired identity of the state is found in relation to the sphere of international affairs. In this context the state language is described as being an (8:21) "important attribute of state sovereignty⁵" and that therefore Kazakh must be used in international meetings.

The education system is focussed on in some detail in the document. It is stated that although the share of Kazakh as a medium of instruction in education is increasing it still has not reached a satisfactory level in all stages of the education process. The need for more Kazakh language pre-schools is mentioned in particular. It is also noted that the quality of teaching in Kazakh language and minority language schools

⁴ 8:20 "является вопросом укрепления национальной безопасности"

⁵ 8:21 "являясь одним из важных атрибутов государственного суверенитета"

is often not as high as that in Russian language schools. These themes are also encountered in the media extracts discussed and in the individual interviews as is the theme, also covered in the present document, of the need for new and better quality textbooks to serve the educational needs of the republic as an independent and modernising state.

These themes are also evident in the interviews with senators and MPs. Many of them see the transformation of the education system to suit the ideological needs of the independent republic as an important part of state-building and one which inevitably takes time to enact. Several senators contrast the Russo-centric ideology of the Soviet education system with the drive to increase the number of Kazakh schools and present school subjects in a manner more suited to the present linguistic and cultural priority of promoting Kazakh group markers. Also, several of the government interviewees highlight the importance of teaching history in a manner in keeping with the ideology of Kazakhstan being the historical territory of the Kazakhs and of a long struggle for independence; themes also apparent in the media discourses examined in chapter 7.

8:22 “During the Union we had schools and teaching and instruction and textbooks which were all in Russian, now it is being translated into the state language. Schools are being opened with state language medium of instruction, in this direction there is progress.”

8:23 “At the present time they are reconsidering and have already reconsidered most courses of study, they are reviewing textbooks and it’s not a secret that during Soviet times we were only able to study the history of the Soviet Union but mainly the history of the Soviet Union was the history of Russia. A state, a state like Kazakhstan only began to study its history in sufficient detail from the moment it acquired independence. Therefore it is very important here to raise up this state identity on those historical examples which have been, on the experiences which Kazakhstan has gone through, on those successes which we have already achieved”†

The fact that these themes are so prominent in the Senators’ and MPs’ discourse as well as in that of the Shymkent interviewees and the media extracts shows that they are both pervasive and important in the current atmosphere of state-building and identity negotiation in Kazakhstan.

The need for an increase in both the quantity and quality of Kazakh language output is also discussed in the document in relation to the mass media as it is acknowledged that this is one of the areas in which Russian still tends to predominate. It is stated that the amount and standard of current output in the state language (8:29) “cannot satisfy the requirements of sovereign Kazakhstan⁶”, thus reinforcing the ideology of Kazakh as the right and necessary language for independent Kazakhstan.

In relation to promoting greater knowledge and use of the Kazakh language amongst the population as a whole (in accordance with articles 7 and 93 of the constitution) the document outlines plans to provide access for all citizens to a system of free Kazakh language courses of a suitably high quality.

The document states the need, in relation to many of the areas of society outlined above, for ongoing corpus planning through the development of a modern and standardised terminology in the state language. A state terminological commission is responsible for research and publication in this area for the (8:30) “broadening of the possibilities of the Kazakh language in representing new socio-cultural realities⁷”. The commission has published a series of terminological dictionaries dealing with various branches of knowledge. Similarly, the legislation states the need for the (8:31) “regulation and restoration of historical names⁸” of regions, places and organisations within the republic. This provision in particular exemplifies the ideology of Kazakhification of the republic and of the justification of this programme through a discourse of historical legitimacy. That regions, cities, villages and organisations are to have their Kazakh names ‘restored’ in accordance with history creates a sense that the ‘true’ identity of the state as a physical and social entity is best and most legitimately expressed in the Kazakh language.

⁶ 8:29 “не может удовлетворить потребностей суверенного Казахстана”

⁷ 8:30 “расширения возможностей казахского языка в отображении новых социокультурных реалий”).

⁸ 8:31 “упорядочению и восстановлению исторических названий”

The document further details the need for the provision of a unified system of norms for contemporary literary Kazakh and regulation of the process and principles of word formation for the modern language - Haugen's selection of a norm and codification of form (1966: 17) - as another of the tasks to be addressed. In order to achieve this aim the creation of an orthographical council is proposed, the remit of which would also include improving the alphabet and orthography of the language as necessary. The legislation also highlights the role of the country's Institute of Linguistics in addressing these and similar tasks.

It is clear from this summary of the main provisions of the legislation concerning the 'functioning and development of languages' that the promotion of the Kazakh language in all areas of society is a high priority for the state. However, as in the other pieces of legislation discussed this priority is balanced to a certain extent by the ideologies expressed concurrently of acknowledging and providing for the multi-ethnic nature of Kazakhstan by protecting both the Russian language and the languages of minority ethnic groups resident in the republic.

To this end the legislation under discussion does also confirm the state's commitment to protecting the use of languages other than Kazakh. It is stated that language policy is (8:32) "one of the most socially meaningful aspects of the life of the state in as much as it enables the strengthening of civic accord in society and its further consolidation⁹". The ideology of such civic accord and of the peaceful cohabitation in the republic of representatives of many languages and cultures is one frequently encountered in the media (see, for example, section 7.2 quote 7:10 and following) and individual discourses (sections 4.2.1; 4.2.4; 4.3.1) discussed above (and see also quote 8:34 below). There is, in the document, a guarantee for Russian in its function as a language of official use alongside Kazakh in organs of state and local administration. The legislation also pledges provision for the continued use of Russian in areas of science, education, culture and the mass media – all areas in

⁹ 8:32 "Оптимальный процесс языкового строительства является одним из наиболее социально значимых аспектов в жизни государства, поскольку способствует упрочению гражданского согласия в обществе и его дальнейшей консолидации"

which it is stated that use of Russian currently tends to predominate. However, in the case of the present legislation, as with the constitution and law on languages, the provisions made for the protection and promulgation of Russian and other languages are considerably less than those made for the promotion of Kazakh.

It is written that (8:33) “the state gives help to the languages of all the diasporas living in the territory of Kazakhstan¹⁰”. The legislation confirms the need to honour the guarantee given in the constitution that citizens are to be free in their choice of language of communication, upbringing, study and creativity. The main provision planned for minority languages discussed within the document is support for the system of Sunday schools which provide linguistic and cultural instruction for representatives of minority ethnic groups. There is mention of a fund to provide for such schools materially and of supporting the training of specialists to teach minority group languages in educational institutions. It is also asserted that the state will support the creation of conditions for the functioning of minority languages in the spheres of culture and the mass media.

The multi-ethnic yet peaceful nature of Kazakhstani society is also highlighted by the senators and MPs who were interviewed. For example, when asked to describe the people of Kazakhstan several focussed on the stability and accord in society and the efforts made by the state to support all ethnic groups in the country.

8:34 “Kazakhstan is a very multinational state... Here in Astana they are starting to publish a newspaper which will highlight the activities of the national cultural centres and concern itself with questions of inter-ethnic agreement, the development of culture, of languages et cetera... it’s one of the features which demonstrates that the state pays a great deal of attention to... our strength in ethnic society... it is very important to preserve stability, to preserve the culture, to preserve the assurance that all the ethnic groups which live here in Kazakhstan have a future.”

8:35 “I would describe them as a very close-knit family, 130 peoples, nationalities live in Kazakhstan, co-exist peacefully... we live very closely, therefore we live wonderfully.”†

¹⁰ 8:33 “Государством оказывается помощь языкам всех диаспор, проживающих на территории Казахстана”

The discourse of inter-ethnic harmony is manifestly an important one to these senators and MPs and accords with that expressed through the state legislation. It is clearly therefore a central part of the identity building ideology of the state. The government wishes to influence the country's social and linguistic culture through its language policy by promoting the themes of harmony despite diversity and of state support for all ethnic groups as positive markers of Kazakhstani ingroup belonging in order to engender loyalty to and identification with the state and by extension to the personnel that constitute its current governing bodies.

8.6 Introduction of a Supplement to the Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 7th February 2001

A piece of legislation passed in May 2006 was written to supplement the decree of 2001 discussed above. This document reiterates the key aspects of that decree and provides information on its progress as well as details of plans for further development and implementation. One such area emphasised is the need to implement new technologies in the teaching of Kazakh, utilising audio and visual materials as well as computer based courses in the language. Additionally, the necessity of a process of standardisation through the development of a universal system of testing and evaluation as part of the language teaching programme is acknowledged. The focus on the importance of the Kazakh language in the life and identity of the state is further underlined by the link made between the “spiritual and moral development” of the upcoming generation and the “cultivation of an interest in the state language” amongst that generation thereby implying that knowledge of the Kazakh language is integral to the spiritual and moral character of a citizen of the country. To this end the need for quality provision of literary and artistic materials in Kazakh for pre-school and school age children is emphasised.

8:38 “For the purpose of the spiritual-moral development of the upcoming generation and the cultivation of its interest in the state language of the country it is necessary to pay special attention to the full and qualitative guarantee for children of pre-school and school age of artistic and educational literature, methodological materials and periodical publications in the Kazakh language.”

This document also outlines a timetable for the transition of state administration in the country's various regions to Kazakh with details of those areas to make the change during each of the years from 2006 to 2009.

8.7 Measures for the Realisation of the Mission of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the Further Improvement of State Language Policy

A further piece of legislation from October 2006 is entitled, 'Measures for the realisation of the mission of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the further improvement of state language policy'. The principal aim of this document is to provide for the formation of a commission for the 'further development of the state language policy' and, as well as establishing the status and composition of this commission, to outline a plan of measures to fulfil the president's mission regarding language policy in the republic. The document itself consists of extracts from a speech given by the president to the Assembly of peoples of Kazakhstan detailing his vision for state language policy alongside suggested measures for the fulfilment of this mission as articulated by Nazarbaev and a stipulated timeframe and ministry or agency to be responsible for achieving these goals.

The first three points of the document deal with the promotion of the state language, highlighting once again the high priority attached by Nazarbaev to establishing this language as the principal linguistic identity marker of the state and all its citizens. The areas of state administration and education are again focussed on as priorities for improvement in terms of extent of Kazakh use and language teaching provision. A subsequent point made by the president calls for Russian and minority language organisations and Sunday schools to be sites of Kazakh language teaching and promotion. There is a recommendation for the commission to look at questions of funding and staffing for such a programme.

The central place of Kazakh in the state identity and in the identity envisaged by Nazarbaev for its citizens is further emphasised by later extracts from his speech used to form the basis of recommendations for the proposed commission. Nazarbaev states that

8:39 “We must make every effort for the further development of the state language as an important factor uniting all Kazakhstanis”

and that

8:40 “The question of state importance is closely connected with patriotism – the question of the state language. The state language is a symbol, like the flag, the coat of arms and the national anthem, with which the homeland begins. And it is called to unite all citizens of the country”

In response to this it is proposed that measures be taken in order to promote (8:41) “the formation in the young of a feeling of respect in relation to the state language as one of the state symbols¹¹”. This stipulation thus acknowledges the fact that without such intervention it is feared that young people will not feel the level of respect towards the state language that the government requires and that the growing use of Kazakh is not perhaps as natural and driven from below as the state might wish.

When discussing the principal symbols or markers of a Kazakhstani identity a number of the government interviewees also mentioned the importance of the state language. They highlight the need to promote Kazakh and the knowledge of Kazakh so that it can genuinely become a marker of ingroup identity for Kazakhstanis as Nazarbaev wishes and, in describing this need they must also address the tension thereby created between such policies of Kazakhification and the constitutional guarantee of protection and provision for all languages and favoured ideology of ethnic diversity and freedom in Kazakhstan.

8:42 “Language must play a uniting role. At the present time on the whole Russian fulfils this role. But in as much as in our constitution the state language is Kazakh it means we must take measures towards, and we are doing so, in order to raise the level and studying of the state language and the application of the state language and its dissemination.”

¹¹ 8:41 “формирования у молодежи чувства уважительного отношения к государственному языку как к одному из государственных символов”

8:43 “Of course it’s language, without a doubt, of course it’s the traditions and customs which live in our country which develop and continue to have a place... I think it’s very important and...those decades when Kazakh didn’t occupy its due place in the life of Kazakhstan’s society , it’s probably now over that hurdle and going forward now and now the Kazakh language as an expression of the culture of the foundational, root nationality living here is now already occupying its place more.”

8:44 “In society in the last years the understanding has begun to mature that this state is definitely here that it’s the state of Kazakhstan with a state language that must be accepted, especially by the young who let’s say join in themselves, they are living here and aiming to have a career here, they take hold of the language.”

8:45 “Well language is probably at the foundation of what the state identity is, because every nation in the first place identifies itself by language. By language, by culture, by certain traditions and all the same language stands in the first place.” †

The use of words such as “mature” and “develop” and of phrases such as “going forward” form part of a discourse of consolidation and progress suggesting that having achieved independence the state is now undergoing change and restructuring and is close to achieving its true linguistic and cultural identity which had hitherto been repressed. The idea of Kazakhstan engaging in an ongoing process of identity formation is discussed further in relation to the Kazakhstan 2030 document (see quote 8:67 and following). The idea of the state having a true identity defined by its language is suggested particularly in quote 8:45 which invokes the ideologies of essentialism and of universality to legitimise the Kazakhification of the state.

Having established the priority given to the Kazakh language in the identity and functioning of the state, the October 2006 document goes on to deal with points relating to the Russian language. In order to pursue the aim of continued economic growth within the republic and to facilitate citizens’ access to a wider educational and informational resource base the president expresses his continued support for the use of Russian in Kazakhstan. He states that knowledge of an international language such as Russian (8:48) “broadens informational horizons in the modern world¹²”. Nazarbaev envisages that (8:49) “in the foreseeable future, Russian will remain a

¹² 8:48 “расширяющий информационные горизонты в современном мире”

factor in our competitiveness” and thus “the level of knowledge of the Russian language in Kazakhstan must remain high¹³”. In fact Nazarbaev foresees the combination of Kazakh, Russian and English as being part of the country’s future development and success.

8:50 “The new generation of Kazakhstanis must be at least trilingual, fluent in the Kazakh, Russian and English languages.”

Following this the president goes on to propose the introduction of programmes for the intensive study of English within the general education system.

The final point drawn from the president’s speech is his desire for a re-examination of the question of a transition for Kazakh from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet. The document proposes that research into this question be conducted and the experiences of other countries to have made a similar change such as Turkey and Uzbekistan (see Schlyter 2007 for an account of Uzbekistan’s orthographical reforms) be taken into account. The motivation for this possible change is likely to be similar to that behind the drive to rename large numbers of places and features according to historic Kazakh tradition as discussed above; the change in orthography would further enhance the country’s break from its Soviet past and would help establish a new identity characterised by a visibly different linguistic environment.

8.8 Plan for the years 2007-2008 for Measures for the Realisation of the State Programme for the Functioning and Development of Languages for 2001-2010

The ideology of creating a changed language environment for the state as an independent republic is also evident in the legislation passed in February 2007 which acts as a ‘Plan for 2007-2008 for the realisation of the state programme for the functioning and development of languages for 2001-2010’. As well as measures similar to those described above in the context of other legislation dealing with the ongoing need to extend the use of Kazakh and monitor its introduction in various

¹³ 8:49 “В обозримом будущем русский язык будет оставаться фактором нашей конкурентно-способности. ...уровень знания русского языка в Казахстане должен оставаться высоким”

spheres of state and social life, a number of the measures proposed in this document deal with the need to continue to develop and publicise a standardised modernisation of Kazakh language terminology. Point 27 of the document highlights the need for

8:51 “The creation and regulation of the branches of the terminological sections of humanitarian, educational, economic-financial, technical and other spheres by the State Terminological Commission.”

Similarly, another area of language planning prioritised in the document is that of the ongoing translation of proper names of regions within Kazakhstan into Kazakh and of the need to publish these translations as well as the work of the terminological commission in a bulletin. The necessity of developing and publishing textbooks, methodological materials and dictionaries of various types, including terminological dictionaries and those of proper names is also highlighted and budgeted for at a state level. Provision is also made for the production of topographical maps in the state language.

As in other legislation though, mention is also made of support for Russian and for minority languages. Provision is made for television and radio broadcasts (8:52) “in the languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan¹⁴” and a proposal is made to organise a competition to find the best Sunday school in the national cultural centres. There is also a proposal to introduce an annual republic festival of the languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan and a day of Slavonic literature. Another competition to be introduced is for the recital of work by the Kazakh poet Abai by peoples of other nationalities and the proposal to teach Kazakh in the Sunday schools of national cultural centres is given further backing. These latter measures again highlight the state’s desire to emphasise the cultural importance of Kazakh for all sections of the population.

State policy thus consists of a combination of prioritising a change in the visible linguistic landscape such that Kazakh is the language of state and of the physical and geographical landmarks of the state whilst other languages are protected within

Sunday schools and celebrated in festivals promoting harmony and diversity (thus predominantly limiting them to relatively safe and unobtrusive spheres of use). In this way the government continues to engage in the discourses of Kazakhification of the republic alongside conflicting ideologies of celebrating and protecting ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity within the republic.

8.9 Education

A piece of legislation passed in June 2007 ‘On education’ lays out the basic principles of the state policy for education. It is stipulated in this document that all educational organisations must teach knowledge of Kazakh as the state language, as well as teaching Russian and one foreign language. The right, outlined in the constitution, to education in other native languages is, according to this document, provided for where possible by educational organisations, classes and groups operating in the relevant languages.

8:53 “The right to receive education in the native language is provided for by the creation of appropriate educational organisations, classes, and groups where they and the conditions for their functioning are possible.”

In this way the emphasis and ideology of the educational system is consistent with those observed in other legislation dealing with language although the proviso that education is available in minority languages “where possible” is a distinct step away from the rhetoric of linguistic equality in the constitution.

8.10 Kazakhstan 2030

With the approach of the year 2000 Nazarbaev prepared a programme of development to be presented to the country laying out his vision for Kazakhstan up until the year 2030. The main aim expressed for the Kazakhstan 2030 programme is that of the (8:54) “prosperity, security and ever growing welfare of all Kazakhstanis¹⁵”.

¹⁴ 8:52 “на языках народов Казахстана”

¹⁵ 8:54 “процветание, безопасность и улучшение благосостояния всех казахстанцев”

Before outlining the programme Nazarbaev summarises the country's existing advantages as he sees them. Nazarbaev lists eight advantages which characterise Kazakhstan and there is significant similarity between this discourse and that of many of the Shymkent interviewees discussing the positive aspects of a Kazakhstani identity which give them pride. First of all the president lists independence itself, followed by the new and emerging political and economic system, a change in social systems leading to greater prosperity and individual freedom, the educational and scientific achievements of the population, the rich natural resources within Kazakhstan's territory, the vast areas of arable land in the country, the political stability and unity of society and the tolerance and patience which characterise the population and culture of Kazakhstan. Here is further evidence that the discourse of the state is reflected at other levels of society such that many of the aspects Nazarbaev presents as positive attributes of Kazakhstani group identity were also invoked by individuals interviewed when they were discussing national identity.

These themes were echoed very closely by one of the Senators and also by one of the MPs when asked what they considered to be the most important aspects of Kazakhstan's independence.

8:55 "Well usually the foundational aspects of independence are territory, language, probably the original culture, people's patriotism, probably we'd say economics, the basis there is first and foremost mineral resources and probably also people who can work."

8:56 "The foundational aspects of independence are the territory, it's the people, it's the political institutions, it's the economic base, it's the spiritual harmony and unity of the country."

These members of the government are thus clearly echoing Nazarbaev's own discourse on independence and the positive attributes of the state's identity. Whilst the other senators and MPs do not so closely match the president's words in answer to this question, tending to focus more on the resurgence of the Kazakh language and culture as key aspects of independent Kazakhstan, the themes articulated above are

partly present in answer to this question and are also apparent in other answers given during the course of the interviews.

Following this Nazarbaev makes clear that the less favourable aspects of Kazakhstani society are the result of the negative Soviet legacy (although, as previously observed, he takes no responsibility for this legacy despite his involvement in the regime during the late Soviet period) and are challenges to be overcome in time by Kazakhstan as an independent state. The president then goes on to articulate the mission for Kazakhstan for the new millennium. Nazarbaev sums up this mission as

8:57 “to build an independent, prosperous and politically stable Kazakhstan with its inherent national unity, social justice and the economic well-being of the entire population.”

Here again Nazarbaev highlights the importance of economic prosperity and civil harmony as identity markers, themes which occur frequently in the state, media and individual discourses as well as being a focus of the senators’ and MPs’ discourses as cited above. A vision is articulated which encompasses these and other common themes present in media and individual discourses as previously discussed.

Nazarbaev describes the citizens of Kazakhstan as he envisions they would be by 2030.

8:58 “They would be... well educated and healthy. They would be prepared to work in the conditions of a modern market economy, sticking though to the traditions of their forefathers. They would have an equally good command of the Kazakh, Russian and English languages. They would be patriots of their peaceful, prosperous, rapidly growing country which would be well-known and respected all over the world. ...In the year of 2030 our descendents would live in a country which would no longer stay in the background of world developments. Their Kazakhstan, being the centre of Eurasia, would be a connecting link between the three rapidly growing regions of China, Russia and the Muslim world. It would be inhabited by representatives of numerous nationalities sure of equal opportunities enjoyed by all the nations but deeming themselves to be citizens of Kazakhstan first and foremost.”

The reference to Kazakhstan as a country which would be “no longer in the background of world developments” is one which occurs frequently in the media extracts. In several of Nazarbaev’s speeches quoted in chapter 7 reference is made to

the importance he places on Kazakhstan's standing in the world community (see for example quote 7:50 and following). This quote reveals Nazarbaev's vision of Kazakhstan as being both geographically and strategically central to political and economic developments in the region. That he is successful in promoting this discourse is illustrated by the fact that it was referred to by an individual interview participant (see quote 4:70).

The theme of being a citizen of Kazakhstan "first and foremost" and of Kazakhstan being the primary point of social belonging and identification is echoed in the words of one of the senators when asked what it means to be Russian in Kazakhstan today.

8:59 "Russians in Kazakhstan, first of all I'm a citizen of Kazakhstan, I don't feel any kind of situations of limitation in relation to the fact that I'm Russian... First of all to feel Russian is to feel yourself to be a citizen, a part of what happens in this country."

Another of the senators gives a similar response when asked what it means to be a Kazakh in Kazakhstan today.

8:60 "Well, to be Kazakh, I wouldn't want to differentiate, you know, we have equality. It means any citizen of Kazakhstan, here citizens are not subdivided by the constitution so that, it means we have equal rights, we can speak the state language and other languages, it's the same for people not of Kazakh nationality they have the same rights here, therefore I wouldn't draw a great distinction, here we haven't made such distinctions."

This ideology of ethnic equality and integration is also echoed by other government interviewees including one of the MPs.

8:61 "Here, in principle it's probably just the same to be Kazakh, Russian, Korean, Uighur, in my opinion everyone is proud of Kazakhstan."

However, others of these interviewees acknowledge that for many there is a degree of tension and difficulty in understanding their ethnic identity in independent Kazakhstan. One of the senators, an ethnic German, describes the way his ethnic and linguistic culture affects the ways he can be viewed by various relevant others.

8:62 “If I go to Germany yes, in Germany I will be Russian. If I go to Russia, I will be Kazakh, and here I’m German. You understand me yes? They consider me German here, but there in Germany they’d consider me as a Russian because I represent the Russian Germans.”

The same senator goes on to talk about the choice that ethnic Russians faced in the light of Kazakhstan’s independence.

8:63 “For the Russians I think it’s somewhat more complicated than for the others because it was the Soviet state and the Russians represented the titular nation and were in the majority and unexpectedly they experience psychological discomfort from the Kazakhs calling them a national minority... but then there was a choice, to stay here and accept everything as it is, as nobody expelled anybody and nobody is expelling anyone... you can move to your historical homeland in Russia...there is a choice here each person has to make, has to understand that history has turned out this way.”

Also, a number of the senators and MPs interviewed do describe the ethnic Kazakhs as having a status distinct in some ways from other groups despite the fact that the same participants also engage in the discourse of equality and non-discrimination. For example, the senator for Karaganda oblast, himself an ethnic Ukrainian, first describes the ethnic diversity apparent in the government as proof of the lack of ethnic discrimination but then goes on to describe the Kazakhs in terms which set them apart from other groups in the country. Similarly, one of his colleagues engages in the discourse current in both the media extracts and individual interviews of Kazakhs as the “foundational nation”, whose claim to a special status in the republic is historically legitimated.

8:64 “I’m just such a person as everyone else... I’m not limited. If any nation were limited in Kazakhstan then I think that it wouldn’t have representatives in the higher legislative organs. We have Belorussians, Russians, I’m Ukrainian, there are Germans, Kazakhs, Tatars and many other nationalities which are represented both in the government and in the parliament of the republic”

8:65 “Well, how should I put it, what it means [to be Kazakh in Kazakhstan]? It’s the foundational nation which - the nation which historically lived on this territory, has its own traditions, its own rituals, its own like foundations, which like during the course of many years preserved their territory.”

One of the MPs particularly emphasises the need for Kazakhs to preserve and promote their ethnic identity in light of the loss of language and culture during the Soviet period (a theme discussed in relation to the media extracts in chapter 7).

8:66 “To be Kazakh, well you need to protect your ethnic membership, you need to speak in the language, you need to think in the language, you need to love your land, your people. You can be Kazakh by your passport but Russian by mentality, we have quite a lot of people like that, you understand?... I have to say that the overwhelming majority have a Russian mentality to some extent because of the culture, the education, the majority of specialists received their education in the Soviet times, on the whole in Russian.”

The discourse apparent in these last quotes, of cultural survival throughout a long and difficult history, was also evident in some of the media extracts analysed and discussed in chapter 7. The concept of distinguishing between ethnicity as a label as it might appear in a passport and as something experienced and lived out is also made by some of the Shymkent interviewees (see quote 4:106 and following).

The ideologies of economic growth and increasing world status, especially in regard to relevant outgroups which are apparent in the excerpt from the 2030 programme quoted above also appear in the introduction to the constitution. Similarly, the ideals of inter-ethnic harmony and civic identity encountered in much of the legislation and state discourse already discussed are again balanced by references to the “traditions of their forefathers” implying the importance of ethnic Kazakh culture and history as the foundation and legitimisation for the state and for much state policy, a discourse encountered in the quotes from the interviews with senators and MPs given above.

These themes are further apparent in the more detailed programme of development laid out as part of the 2030 mission statement. The need to foster a positive ingroup identity rooted in the state and the common interests of the state and the individual are stressed. As part of the first long-term priority articulated in the programme, national security, the need to develop a sense of patriotism is highlighted in particular.

8:67 “We must develop a sense of patriotism and love for their country in all of Kazakhstan’s citizens. Old, once stable connections between the people and the state have been weakened and new ones, between individual and national interests have yet to be formed. Fortunately, an awareness is already developing in the majority of an understanding of the commonality of interests of the people and the state. I have no doubt that in accordance with the improvements in the well-being of the people, this will be strengthened. This will hasten an understanding of the seemingly simple truth that the welfare of every citizen depends on the sovereignty and security of the state in which he lives.”

In this way Nazarbaev constructs a common fate and common goals for the state and the individual both of which are foundational to the formation of a strong sense of ingroup identification on the part of group members. He alludes to the strengthening of the economy and links this with an increased sense of group loyalty such that group members are encouraged to see themselves as having a stake in the economic status of the state and to view their own improving standard of living as being integrally linked to the state and to the policies of the government which in turn will engender a sense of loyalty to and positive identification with that state level identity.

The senators and MPs who were interviewed were asked their views on the degree of development of a Kazakhstani state level identity. Several of those interviewed describe this as being a work in progress and something which the government is actively promoting.

8:68 “I think we have work in store now so that the state identity would be greater and so that it would be within the family... it must be inside a person.”

8:69 “I think that it’s maybe not all that developed but with every year it is moving further and further on in its development.”†

However, one of the senators, as well as focussing on the positive ingroup identity of Kazakhstanis in comparison with relevant outgroups (for him Russia and other CIS countries) and on the role of economic stability in facilitating this, argues that in Kazakhstan a state identity is developing from the bottom up, emerging primarily from the people itself rather than from state ideology.

8:72 “I think that the state identity of our independence hasn’t had much time yet and nonetheless we need to value the fact that the state identity is growing and precisely being part of such a state and pride that Kazakhstan has achieved certain successes in the time since we’ve been independent, all these are probably present in every Kazakhstani. All the more as our country is quite open, we know the state of affairs of our neighbours, we know the state of affairs in Russia, in other countries. In that respect I must say that our country appears quite successful. In this scheme in that in the first place economic success facilitates the growth of a state identity... I have to say that probably it is at quite a high level even in comparison with the other countries of the CIS, the level of state identity. Because it happened that I worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for quite a long time, therefore it happened that I was in a lot of countries and could see the pride that every Kazakhstani has in his state and it seems to me that this differentiates us favourably from our neighbours. Moreover, if the ideology emerging in certain countries is maybe rather by force, we won’t go far. For example, there is Turkmenistan and other similar countries, then for us it comes more not from the state line but most of all the state identity comes from the people itself.”

There is thus a clear discourse amongst the government interviewees that as the state preserves inter-ethnic equality, builds social and economic stability and continues to be guided by the vision of the president for the continually improving welfare of all Kazakhstanis then there will be a concomitant increase in identification with and loyalty to both the president and the state on the part of citizens and that pride in the state’s achievements and favourable status in comparison with relevant outgroups will result in a secure and positive ingroup identity at the level of state membership.

Accordingly, another long-term priority to be discussed in the 2030 programme is that of (8:73) “domestic stability and the consolidation of society¹⁶”. In this context individuals are once again urged to view their best interests as lying in maintaining the stability and prosperity of the state level group and in viewing this group identity as of greater importance than religious, ethnic or other possible group identifications.

8:74 “If various groups, irrespective of what unites them – political ideology, religious, ethnic or class interests – are in a state of confrontation, it will lead to a dangerous situation, in which the people would be distracted from the aim of achieving the common good and the realisation of national interests.”

¹⁶ 8:73 “внутриполитическая стабильность и консолидация общества”

Thus Nazarbaev constructs a discourse of the state as the primary group identity for its citizens. In order to highlight the importance of this he cites Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and others as examples of the disastrous consequences which can follow if other group identities are given priority over a unified state identity and sense of belonging. The president states that Kazakhstan must engage in a strategy of building a society in which all ethnic groups have equal rights and in which a civic identity based on equal opportunities for all citizens is fostered.

Nazarbaev acknowledges that a Kazakhstani identity is in a state of negotiation and ongoing formation, arguing as did the senators quoted above, that this inevitably takes time but he goes on to list a number of factors characteristic of such an identity.

8:75 “Not everyone can today answer the seemingly simple question, ‘Who are we, - the Kazakhstanis?’ Deciding the problem of self-identification takes time and a certain degree of historical development... Yet even today there are a number of factors which unite us. Our land and its borders, our parents who cultivated it, our common history in which we suffered the grief of failures together and shared the joy of our achievements. Our children who live and work together on this land. And each of us is united in understanding our duty towards our parents and our striving to make the lives of our children better.”

Many of the key themes identified in the framework I have adopted for understanding national identity through discourse in chapters 5 and 7 are apparent here in this ideology of a Kazakhstani identity based on the land and on a shared history and future. Once again the themes highlighted as being important in discourses of national identity articulated through state legislation coincide with those observed in the media and individual interviews.

These themes of a common past and of a sense of common struggle and achievement and striving towards a prosperous future are also evident in the discourses of a number of the government interviewees when discussing the characteristics of a Kazakhstani identity. Again the importance of a positive comparison with relevant outgroups emerges in these discourses.

8:76 “I would probably say that the main trait is pride in your state, pride in what we have managed despite the difficult times in our history and from the standpoint of acquiring independence we have managed to determine everything, to successfully complete all the reforms which were begun in the economic and political spheres and to stand on the road to development which other countries have not been able to reach yet. That pride and awareness that we have successfully done this, that’s probably the main thing.”†

The ideology of inter-ethnic harmony and unity so integral to the construction of a Kazakhstani identity is also emphasised by Nazarbaev in the section dealing with domestic stability.

8:79 “Chauvinism and nationalism however, are not yet completely forgotten. Efforts to raise up these processes though do not arouse any interest whatsoever in the majority of the population, more the reverse, they only irritate them. Russophobia is in steep decline as the process of the regeneration of the Kazakh traditions and language is naturally understood. Unlike in previous years, society is much calmer and discusses ethnic problems constructively and openly.”

This section is a further example of the discourse of national unity and ethnic harmony in tension with the priority given to Kazakh language and culture. Nazarbaev asserts that the population is increasingly uninterested in chauvinism and nationalism and in denigrating ethnic outgroups yet, having earlier asserted that all ethnic groups are understood to be equal, here maintains that the prioritisation of an ethnic Kazakh identity within the state is understood as natural. This echoes Nazarbaev’s statement quoted earlier (8:57) in which he referred to Kazakhstan’s national unity as being “inherent”. Thus the conflicting ideologies of ethnic equality and of the prioritisation of the Kazakh ethnic group are both constructed as being natural and foundational parts of a Kazakhstani identity. Similarly national unity and the national identity are also presented as being both natural and as emerging as part of an ongoing process of development in the state.

9 Conclusion

9.1 Overview

This dissertation has explored the processes of identity negotiation ongoing in the Republic of Kazakhstan. Chapter 1 identified some of the main themes relevant to the discussion and laid out the theoretical framework for the study. The social identity perspective was introduced and described. Within this context an understanding of identity was outlined that focuses on the availability to an individual of multiple possible identities of differing levels of inclusiveness. The saliency of a particular identity is held to vary according both to context and to the history, beliefs and goals of the individual concerned. Where a group level identity becomes salient then the individual's response to the situation will reflect that, and he or she may seek to enact or defend linguistic and behavioural norms associated with group belonging and to create or maintain a sense of positive distinctness from outgroups perceived to be relevant. The importance of discourse to processes of identity formation and maintenance was also described and the interaction between discourse and social context was highlighted. The aim of this study was to investigate these processes in the context of ethnic and state level identities in Kazakhstan.

In order to provide a broad context for the work as a whole chapter 2 provided a brief historical overview of Kazakhstan in which social and political events which have influenced the region were outlined. Chapter 3 also served to set the rest of the work in context by describing the methodological approach adopted for the fieldwork in Kazakhstan. The fieldwork in question consisted of interviews with students and staff at educational establishments in the southern city of Shymkent and with some MPs and Senators in the capital city, Astana.

Chapter 4 began to address the research questions dealing with the saliency of identities at varying levels of inclusiveness to the interview participants and with the interviewees' ideas about the content and boundaries of those identities. There was also discussion of which outgroups were perceived as being relevant for comparison and on what main dimensions.

Chapters 5 and 7 both explored the thematic contents of a state level Kazakhstani identity as it was constructed discursively by individuals (chapter 5) and in samples drawn from the media (chapter 7). Again the value and saliency of the identity, competing ideas of its content and boundaries and contrasts and comparisons with other groups were described.

Chapter 6 investigated the interview participants' beliefs about the roles which various languages should be ascribed in contemporary Kazakhstan and about which languages were associated with which spheres of use or type of speaker.

Chapter 8 described aspects of the constitution and other legislation dealing with language use in the republic. The laws themselves were briefly described and the themes and ideologies pertaining to ethnic and state level identities highlighted. Extracts from the interviews with Senators and MPs were included here to illustrate areas of agreement and divergence between the legislation and the government employees' discourse.

9.2 Conclusions

The present research has contributed to the field of post-Soviet studies of language and identification through the approach taken in not prioritising one particular ethnic group but rather investigating understandings of Kazakh, Russian and minority ethnic group membership in Kazakhstan and, moreover, by not assuming the relevance and salience of ethnic or national identities to all individuals in all circumstances but demonstrating the ways in which such identities are actually understood and negotiated by individuals on an everyday basis. Similarly, the defining attributes of group identities and the outgroups deemed relevant for comparison were not assumed but have been investigated and explored as they emerge in the discourses of individuals and of elites.

Chapter 4 in particular provided evidence of the context dependent nature of identity salience. Each question brought different levels of identity to the fore for different

individual participants. However, that personal, ethnic and state level identities were all relevant and valued by the participants was made manifest.

The development and negotiation of a state level Kazakhstani identity is clearly an ongoing process within the republic. Some of the interviewees denied that such an identity was yet valid and some contended that ethnic differences were most significant or that if a Kazakhstani identity were deemed relevant then it would be defined in purely civic terms. However, the state and media are both investing significantly in discourses of national identity and many of the interviewees express a similar focus in their responses. Numerous themes relating to the content of a Kazakhstani identity were evident in all three sources – the individual interviews, the media extracts (many of which directly reported government discourse) and the legislation reviewed.

One of the most widespread beliefs relating to the positive aspects of a Kazakhstani identity was that Kazakhstan is a multi-ethnic yet highly inclusive, harmonious and peaceful country. Many of the interviewees made reference to this aspect of state belonging and described how ethnic groups in Kazakhstan live peacefully together and can learn from and enrich one another. Similar themes emerge in both the media and government discourses and Kazakhstan is shown to compare favourably with numerous other multi-ethnic and post-Soviet states. This belief provides a secure sense of group belonging and constitutes a highly valued group norm. That Kazakhstan is multi-ethnic is demonstrably true and a focus on the times and instances of inter-ethnic harmony and co-operation is evidence of the way in which discourse both affects and is affected by social context. By describing inter-ethnic accord as a group norm the government hopes to establish it as such.

Related to the idea of inter-ethnic harmony are the valued group norms of friendliness and hospitality. In the individual interviews in particular these are described as being attributes of Kazakh culture which have been assimilated by all groups living in Kazakhstan such that they have become identifying features of Kazakhstani group belonging and dimensions on which Kazakhstan compares

favourably with Russia and with the other Central Asian republics. These themes are also expressed in the media and government output discussed and it is Russia and the states of Central Asia that most consistently emerge as the groups deemed relevant for comparison throughout the study.

However, in tension with these themes are those, also present in all three sets of data, of Kazakhstan as belonging first and foremost to the Kazakhs as an ethnic group who are consequently accorded principal status as culture-definers in the state and whose group language is the legitimate expression of independent statehood. The idea of ethnic Kazakh attributes and language serving as a model for a wider Kazakhstani identity is prevalent in both the media and government data examined in particular. This stance is frequently legitimated by an appeal to history in which the Kazakhs' long residency in the land is highlighted as is their suffering during both Imperial and Soviet times. The theme of independence being achieved as the result of a long historical struggle is also evident in the discourse of individuals and of media and government representatives. Related to this are discourses of the importance of the land (the idea of the location and landscape of Kazakhstan having shaped the character of the people forms part of this) and of a sense of continuity attained through the passing on of Kazakh culture and traditions from one generation to another.

Despite the inherent conflict between the themes of inter-ethnic harmony and inclusion and those of the Kazakhs' priority status in Kazakhstan they nonetheless appear together and a single individual may invoke both of these themes in different contexts without any apparent sense of inconsistency.

Also in tension are the concurrent themes of cultural oppression of the Kazakhs and of mutual cultural enrichment and exchange between peoples and between Kazakhs and Russians in particular. Thus at different times Russian language and culture are constructed as oppressing those of the Kazakhs and as enriching them. The instrumental value associated with the knowledge of the Russian language due

principally to its status as a language of wider communication and the access it provides to spheres of culture and learning is also a common theme.

The themes of Kazakhstan's economic development and relative prosperity and of the ongoing reforms overseen by president Nazarbaev frequently emerge as valued aspects of a Kazakhstani identity. The historical and cultural similarities between Kazakhstan and the other post-Soviet states of Central Asia present a challenge to the creation and maintenance of ingroup norms positively distinct from these outgroups. The economic success of Kazakhstan in comparison with its neighbours is therefore particularly valued as a means of maintaining a secure sense of positive distinctiveness. Similarly the president himself and the legal changes he has overseen since Kazakhstan became independent are also clear distinguishing features invoked as part of a state identity. Related to Kazakhstan's economic progress is the theme of Kazakhstan as growing in status on the world stage. An identity as a state of global significance and influence emerges as an aspiration in both the media and government discourses.

The principal threats to a positive sense of Kazakhstani identity are those which challenge particularly valued group norms. Thus discrimination or tension between ethnic groups emerges as a threat to the values of inter-ethnic harmony and inclusion whilst corruption and lack of development in spheres such as health and education challenge the valued group markers of reform, development and prosperity.

The media and government data tend to present a Kazakhstani identity as naturally salient, positive and secure. However, many of the interview responses suggested that whilst an ethnic level identity was often salient, a state level, Kazakhstani identity was only made salient in certain contexts. Such 'activation' of the national identity was discussed in particular in chapter 5 and it was evident that a number of the participants only responded in terms of such an identity when travelling abroad, interacting with representatives of other countries, or when watching international sports competitions.

Also, as suggested above, analysis of the interviewees' responses revealed that for a number of participants a Kazakhstani identity is either invalid or not valued. Such participants orient instead to other possible identities and may reveal a focus on the maintenance of a positive sense of ethnic group belonging. Chapter 4 discussed the fact that the changes in Kazakhstan since the disintegration of the Soviet Union present challenges in relation to both ethnic and state level identities for Russians in particular. These participants seemed to experience greater difficulty in relating positively to markers of group identity and maintaining a positive sense of group distinctiveness.

In the case of ethnic identity the problems experienced by some Russians (and also some minority group members) in maintaining a positive sense of group belonging were illustrated in particular by those participants who stated that nothing made them proud to be a member of their ethnic group, whilst conversely, no Kazakhs gave this response in relation to their ethnic belonging.

That ethnic identity is perceived as being multi-dimensional was highlighted in chapter 4. The wide variety of responses given by participants when asked to define the boundaries of ethnic group membership was described there. Definitive aspects of group membership mentioned by the interviewees included biological descent, language and following customs and culture appropriate to the group. Some respondents made a distinction between ethnic group membership as a label that might appear in a passport and group belonging which is genuinely experienced and results in ingroup appropriate behaviour and values. This relates to the distinction, made by some, between those who were members of the group because of biological descent only, and those who were 'real' members of the group displaying and valuing appropriate group norms.

One such group norm, held by some to be diagnostic of true group membership, is ability to speak the ethnic group language. The importance of language as a mark of belonging emerged quite clearly in the analysis of the interview material. Participants described the group language as being important or integral to their ethnicity with

some asserting that without knowledge of the language an individual could not claim group membership or was not a 'true' group member. The pressure felt by individuals to show their adherence to the group by means of their language choices was clearly illustrated in the discussion of medium of instruction in education. Learning through the group language was described by some as being a matter of group loyalty such that learning in another language could be perceived as abandonment of the group. There was also a belief in the impact of language of instruction on the character of an individual. Numerous participants asserted that learning through a particular language entailed enculturation into the social and behavioural norms of the group associated with that language. However, a belief that Russian medium education was still of a higher standard than that in Kazakh was also articulated by some interviewees which constituted a possible cause of conflict for some when choosing the language of instruction.

The tension sometimes existing between favouring one language for ideological reasons and another for instrumental reasons emerged in the discussions of the appropriateness of particular languages to specific spheres of use. Although there was a strong belief in Kazakh as the language of independent Kazakhstan whose use and status should be enhanced there was also a widespread belief in the instrumental value of Russian. Russian is appreciated for its role as a language of wider communication understood by a high percentage of the population of Kazakhstan and of other states of the former Soviet Union and for its established and developed vocabulary in technical spheres.

Moreover, despite the pervasive discourse constructing Kazakh as the language of modern, independent statehood in Kazakhstan there is still a strong association between that language and older speakers and rural environments whilst Russian is associated with modern, urban spheres of use and with younger speakers.

These findings show that the social identity perspective employed for the present study has proved to be an appropriate and rewarding framework within the research context. The fact that the social identity approach focuses on the multiple identities

available to an individual and on the context dependent nature of the saliency of particular group memberships was particularly relevant. Similarly, the understanding of discourses as both affecting and being affected by their social setting has been helpful in prompting an investigation into the similarities and differences between individual, media and state discourses relating to national identity. The thematic headings drawn from the work of Wodak (1999) also proved to be both relevant and valuable in this context. However, as certain thematic elements found to be relevant in the Austrian context proved to be less so in relation to Kazakhstan it may be that a more selective approach, following that of Wodak less closely and more open to other themes relevant to the particular setting in question would have been appropriate. Overall, however, the theoretical framework employed in this study has proved to be both relevant and helpful in answering the research questions laid out in chapter 1.

9.3 Agenda for Further Research

This dissertation has demonstrated that the boundaries and norms associated with ethnic and state level identities are under ongoing negotiation in Kazakhstan. A number of discourses are emerging as central to the understanding of a Kazakhstani identity and these are evident by their pervasiveness in the material drawn from all three data sources in the study. However, the values and norms presented by some as essential to group belonging are contested by others and the very legitimacy and value of these identities are sometimes questioned. The place of the Russian and Kazakh languages is contested on a daily basis in the language choices and talk about talk of individuals, the media and of the state itself. However, the data for this study were necessarily drawn over one relatively short period of time and the interview material drawn from a limited number of demographically similar individuals in one location. In order to further substantiate the conclusions drawn above and establish their legitimacy in other areas it would be necessary to conduct similar research in other areas of the country and amongst other portions of the population. It would also be instructive to observe the possible evolution of existing discourses or emergence of new ones in relation to ethnic and state belonging as time passes. Ultimately it would be of great interest to observe what changes may develop in relation to these

identities as and when a change of regime occurs and Nazarbaev is no longer head of state.

It would also be of great interest and value to carry out comparative studies in other Central Asian states. The work of Flynn (2007b) with Russians in Uzbekistan, described in section 1.2 and that of Dave (2004) comparing language policy and its implementation in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan outlined in section 2.13 both provide evidence of interesting similarities and differences between Kazakhstan and these other Central Asian states. The fact that the participants in the present study were shown to orient to inhabitants of Russia and of the other Central Asian states, as relevant for comparison when discussing both ethnic and state level identities means that such comparative studies would be appropriate and helpful in order to expand and consolidate the contributions made by the present study.

Appendix A: Fieldwork Questions

Questions for Students and Teachers

How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?

Are you glad that Kazakhstan is now independent?

What is the most important aspect of this?

How would you describe yourself?

What makes you Kazakh/Russian...?

Would you ever describe yourself as Kazakhstani?

Why/ why not?

How are the different ethnic groups in Kazakhstan different from each other?

Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?

Are all Kazakhs the same as each other?

Are all Russians the same as each other?

What about members of other ethnic groups?

How important is the Kazakh language to being Kazakh?

How important is the Russian language to being Russian?

(If respondent is from other ethnic group, ask about importance of group language)

Can you still be Kazakh if you don't speak the language? Why/ why not?

Can you still be Russian if you don't speak the language? Why/ why not?

(If respondent is from other ethnic group, ask about group language)

Do all people speak Kazakh the same way?

Do all people speak Russian the same way?

What is good Kazakh?

What is good Russian?

What makes you proud to be Kazakh/ Russian...?

What makes you ashamed?

What makes you proud to be a Kazakhstani?

What makes you ashamed?

Do you ever compare Kazakhstan with other countries?

Which ones? How?

What languages can you speak?

What language/s do you study/teach in?

When do you use Russian?

When do you use Kazakh?

Do you ever mix Russian and Kazakh together?

What sort of people do this?

Do you/does your teacher ever mix languages in a lesson?

What language/s do you most like to speak? Why?

Is there any language you wish you knew better? Why?

Does what language you study in affect what other people think of you?

Does it affect your character?

Why did you choose to teach/study in Kazakh/Russian?

How do you think schools and universities will change in the next 10 years?

(If at school) Will you go to university?

What language will you study in?

If you want to get a good job, what language/s do you need?

Do you think this will change at all in the future?

Is any one language most important now? Why?

What do you want to do when you leave university?

Are any particular languages important for this?

What is good about the Kazakh language?

What is good about the Russian language?

(If respondent is from other ethnic group ask about group language)

What is good about the English language?

Is any one language better than others:

- for business?

- for literature?
- for law?
- for poetry?
- for philosophy?
- for jokes?
- for science?

Do you think English will become more, or less important in the future?

What about Kazakh?

What about Russian?

What laws are there about language use in education?

Do you agree with them?

Is there anything you would like to change?

(To teachers) Does the government check that schools/universities fulfil their requirements?

How?

Do you think it should do this?

How do language laws affect your job?

What do you think is the most important part of being a teacher?

What language did you study in?

What language/s do you think schools should use to teach? Why?

What other languages should be studied? Why?

Is it better to study in one language or in more than one?

What should be the official language/s of Kazakhstan? Why?

What sort of person is most likely to speak:

- Kazakh?
- Russian?
- English?

Is there anyone who only knows Kazakh?
Is there anyone who only uses Kazakh?
Is there anyone who only knows Russian?
Is there anyone who only uses Russian?
Is there anyone who doesn't know Kazakh?
Is there anyone who doesn't know Russian?

What can you tell about a person by how they speak?
Do you think you speak differently than your parents? How? Why?
Do you think your children (will) speak differently than you? How? Why?

Why did you choose to teach/study at this school/university?
What do you like about this school/university?
What do you dislike?
How does this school/university compare with others?
Do you enjoy being a teacher/student?
What do you like about it?
What do you dislike?
How does going to university change you?

Questions for MPs and Senators

How would you describe the people of Kazakhstan?
What are the most important aspects of independence?
How are the various ethnic groups in Kazakhstan different from one another?
Are all Kazakhs the same as each other?
Are all Russians the same as each other?
What does it mean to be Russian in Kazakhstan?
What does it mean to be, for example, Korean?
What does it mean to be Kazakh?

Are people from Kazakhstan different than people from other countries?
How developed is a Kazakhstani national identity?

How does the development of a Kazakhstani national identity compare with that of other countries?

What are the main characteristics of a Kazakhstani national identity?

What are the symbols/ markers of that identity? (e.g. language, food, clothes)

What is the relationship between ethnic and national identity for the people of Kazakhstan?

How would you like to see this develop in the future?

What role does language play in the national identity?

How does this compare with the role that language played before independence?

What main changes have been made to language legislation since independence?

What is the rationale/ ideology behind these changes?

How do these changes aid the development of Kazakhstan as a nation?

What language or languages are used to record and distribute legislation?

How is the national identity reflected in the education system?

What part do the laws on languages play in this?

Are school curricula decided at the level of national government, local government, or by individual schools?

What main changes have been made in educational curricula since independence?

What are the reasons for these changes?

Overall which decisions concerning education are taken at national level, which at local level and which by individual schools and universities?

What are the best aspects of education in Shymkent/Kazakhstan now?

How would you like to see education here develop?

What proportion of school pupils are in Kazakh as opposed the Russian medium schooling now?

What about at university level?

How does this compare with the situation in 1991?

Will this change in the future?

What proportion of school time is reserved for Russian language study in Kazakh medium education?

What proportion of school time is reserved for Kazakh language study in Russian medium education?

What legislation is there concerning the study of both Kazakh and Russian literature? Are these measures (proportion of time for other language study and literature study) different than those in place before independence?

Is there any governmental involvement in the provision of educational resources such as textbooks and dictionaries? (language)

How else will schools and universities change in the next 10 years?

What role does English play in education here?

Is there any provision for minority language medium education?

Is there any provision for minority language tuition? (as a subject)

Are all levels of education available in both Russian and Kazakh?

What provision is there for adults to learn new languages, especially Kazakh?

What legislation is there concerning language in the media?

Are there quotas for Russian and Kazakh language newspaper production and radio and television broadcasts?

What language legislation is there concerning advertisements and public announcements or signs in public places?

Does the government have any involvement in the production of educational programmes? (language)

Do you think the medium of education affects a person's character?

Does language use reveal a person's character and attitudes?

What language/s do you use most in your professional capacity?

Appendix B: Key to Interview Quotes

A Note on Style

Quotes which were originally made in Russian I have translated into English, those given in Kazakh have been transcribed from the interpreter's translation and similarly those given in English have been transcribed verbatim. I chose to do this to retain the voice of the individual as far as possible although this means that errors of grammar and vocabulary remain. Where questions or comments made by me are quoted they are given in italics. I have used the Library of Congress system of transliteration for individual Russian words used in interview quotes spoken primarily in English.

Referencing of Quotes

Quotes are referenced to identify the individual by their institution, whether they are a student or a teacher, an individual number for that institution, their ethnicity and their sex. The reference also indicates the disk, track and approximate location in that track of the quote given and finally shows the language in which the interviewee made that particular quote. For ease of reference quotes are also numbered within each chapter.

Institutions:

S – Salem school

S37 – School number 37

KT – Kazakh Turkish University

SK – South Kazakhstan State University

M – Miras University

LA – Language Academy

Student or Teacher:

s – student

t – teacher

Number:

Identifies individual student or teacher

Ethnicity:

K – Kazakh

R – Russian

U – Uzbek

Uk – Ukrainian

Ko – Korean

Ky – Kyrgyz

Uy – Uygur

T – Tatar

Sex:

m – Male

f – Female

e.g. St2Rf = Salem school, teacher 2, Russian, female

Disk reference:

e.g. [01, 02: 3.00-3.30]

Disk 1

Track 02

Location 3.00 minutes to 3.30 minutes

Language of quote:

K – Kazakh

R – Russian

E – English

Quote Number	Reference
4:1	(St2Rf, [03, 08: 00-0.30], R)
4:2	(LAt3Rf, [25, 01: 0.30-1.00], R)
4:3	(KTt2Kf, [07, 04: 00-0.30], E)
4:4	(Ss10Rf, [02, 09:00-0.30], R)
4:5	(Ms5Rf, [19, 01:00-0.30], R)
4:6	(LAt2Tm, [21, 06:1.00-2.00], R)
4:7	(St1Kf, [03, 05:00-1.00], R)
4:8	(KTs1Kf, [05, 06:2.00-2.30], K)
4:9	(LAs5Kf, [22, 11: 0.30-1.00], E)
4:10	(SKs13Km, [10, 16:1.00-1.30], K)
4:11	(Ss1Kf, [01, 01: 0.30-1.00], R)
4:12	(KTs8Km, [09, 10:1.30-2.00], E)
4:13	(Ss9Rm, [02, 06:0.30-1.00], R)
4:14	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 00-1.00], E)
4:15	(Ss8Kof, [02, 03: 00-1.00], R)
4:16	(Ms14Kf, [20, 16: 00-1.00], E)
4:17	(Ms3Rm, [17, 10: 00-1.30], E)
4:18	(KTs2Kym, [07, 13: 1.30-2.00], K)
4:19	(Ms3Rm, [17, 10: 2.30-3.30], E)
4:20	(LAt1Rf, [21, 01: 2.00-2.30], E)
4:21	(Ms11Kf, [20, 02: 2.00-2.30], E)
4:22	(SKs10Km, [10, 04: 3.30- 4.00], E)
4:23	(Ms6Rf, [19, 04: 2.00-2.45], R)
4:24	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 2.00-2.30], E)
4:25	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 12: 2.45-3.00], E)
4:26	(KTt1Kf, [07, 01: 2.00-2.15], E)
4:27	(KTs5Km, [08, 12: 2.00-2.15], R)
4:28	(SKs6Kf, [07, 09: 3.00-3.30], R)
4:29	(KTs11Kf, [22, 15: 3.00-3.30], K)
4:30	(KTs7Km, [09, 06: 6.00-6.45], E)
4:31	(Ss11Kf, [02, 12: 2.30-3.00], R)
4:32	(Ms6Rf, [19, 04: 0.45-1.45], R)
4:33	(Ss2Rf, [01, 04: 0.30-1.45], R)
4:34	(KTs1Kf, [05, 06: 3.30-4.00], K)
4:35	(SKs9Kf, [10, 01: 1.15-1.45], E)
4:36	(LAs11Kf, [24, 09: 1.30-2.30], E)
4:37	(KTs6Kf, [09, 01: 1.00-2.00], R)
4:38	(Mt2Kf, [16, 10:3.00-4.00], E)
4:39	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 1.00-1.15], R)
4:40	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 0.45-1.30], E)
4:41	(LAs2Uf, [21, 17: 0.45-1.00], E)
4:42	(LAs8Kf, [23, 16: 1.30-2.00], R)
4:43	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 2.30-3.30], E)
4:44	(Mt1Rf, [16, 01: 8.00-9.00], E)
4:45	(Mt1Rf, [16, 01: 9.00-9.45], E)
4:46	(Ms3Rm, [17, 10: 5.00-5.30], E)
4:47	(Ms2Kf, [17, 02: 2.15-2.30], E)
4:48	(Mt2Kf, [16, 11: 0.45-2.30], E)
4:49	(LAt1Rf, [21, 01: 6.00-6.45], E)
4:50	(LAt2Tm, [21, 07: 7.15-9.15], R)
4:51	(LAs12Km, [24, 14: 3.00-4.00], E)
4:52	(LAs6Rf, [23, 01: 3.30-3.45], E)
4:53	(Ss8Kof, [02, 03: 2.00-2.30], R)
4:54	(KTs1Kf, [05, 06: 9.00-9.30], K)
4:55	(SKs11Km, [10, 08: 3.00-3.30], E)
4:56	(Ss9Rm, [02, 06: 2.45-3.00], R)
4:57	(LAs11Kf, [24, 09: 3.45-4.45], E)
4:58	(Ms5Rf, [19, 01: 2.30-3.15], R)
4:59	(LAs9Tm, [24, 03: 3.00-3.15], R)
4:60	(Ss7Kf, [01, 21: 2.00-2.15], R)

Quote Number	Reference
4:61	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 12: 6.00-6.45], E)
4:62	(Mt5Km, [18, 01: 5.00-5.45], E)
4:63	(LAs9Tm, [24, 03: 4.15-4.45], R)
4:64	(St2Rf, [03, 08: 4.00-5.00], R)
4:65	(Ss2Rf, [01, 04: 4.30-5.00], R)
4:66	(LAs5Kf, [22, 11: 5.15-6.00], E)
4:67	(SKs12Km, [10, 11: 6.00-7.15], E)
4:68	(SKs9Kf, [10, 01: 5.00-6.30], E)
4:69	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 3.00-3.30], R)
4:70	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 5.30-6.45], E)
4:71	(Mt2Kf, [16, 11: 5.00-6.15], E)
4:72	(KTt2Kf, [07, 04: 6.15-6.45], E)
4:73	(LAt2Tm, [21, 08: 2.00-7.30], R)
4:74	(Ms11Kf, [20, 02: 1.00-1.15], E)
4:75	(Ms6Rf, [19, 04: 0.15-1.00], R)
4:76	(Ms12Kf, [20, 06: 8.00-9.15], E)
4:77	(Mt5Km, [18, 01: 5.15-5.30], E)
4:78	(LAs2Uf, [21, 17: 4.45-5.15], E)
4:79	(LAt3Rf, [25, 01: 4.00-4.45], R)
4:80	(SKt1, [06, 11: 8.30-9.15], E)
4:81	(KTs7Km, [09, 06: 9.30-07: 0.30], R)
4:82	(LAt1Rf, [21, 01: 6.45-7.30], E)
4:83	(SKs13Km, [10, 16: 4.00-4.45], K)
4:84	(Mt6Kf, [23, 04: 9.00-10.00], E)
4:85	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 5.15-5.45], E)
4:86	(SKs6Kf, [07, 09: 5.30-6.00], R)
4:87	(Ms7Rm, [19, 07: 5.45-6.15], R)
4:88	(SKs5Km, [06, 07: 6.00-7.00], K)
4:89	(KTs1Kf, [05, 08: 8.00-8.30], K)
4:90	(SKs1Kf, [05, 02: 4.00-4.30], E)
4:91	(LAs10Km, [24, 07: 1.45-2.00], E)
4:92	(KTt2Kf, [07, 05: 4.15-5.00], E)
4:93	(SKs3Km, [05, 17: 3.45-4.15], E)
4:94	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 9.15-9.30], E)
4:95	(Ms10Ukf, [19, 19: 8.15-8.30], E)
4:96	(LAs8Kf, [23, 17: 7.30-9.15], E,K)
4:97	(Ss12Km, [03, 03: 4.45-5.00], R)
4:98	(KTs7Km, [09, 06: 7.15-8.00], E,K)
4:99	(Ss4Rm, [01, 12: 1.45-2.00], R)
4:100	(Ms10Ukf, [19, 19: 3.00-3.30], E)
4:101	(SKs3Km, [05, 16: 5.00-5.30], E,K)
4:102	(Ss1Kf, [01, 01: 2.45-3.00], R)
4:103	(Ms6Rf, [19, 04: 2.45-3.00], R)
4:104	(Ss2Rf, [01, 04: 2.00-2.15], R)
4:105	(KTt1Kf, [07, 01: 2.15-2.45], K)
4:106	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 12: 3.15-3.45], E)
4:107	(LAs7Kf, [23, 10: 3.30-5.15], E)
4:108	(LAs2Uf, [21, 17: 1.15-2.00], E)
4:109	(KTt2Kf, [07, 04: 1.30-1.45], E)
4:110	(Ms12Kf, [20, 06: 4.45-5.00], E)
4:111	(SKs5Km, [06, 06: 3.30-3.45], K)
4:112	(St1Kf, [03, 05: 2.00-3.45], R)
4:113	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 4.15-4.45], E)
4:114	(Mt4Rf, [17, 15: 4.00-4.30], R)
4:115	(Ms2Kf, [17, 01: 3.30-4.00], E)
4:116	(LAs11Kf, [24, 09: 3.15-3.45], E)
4:117	(St2Rf, [03, 08: 1.45-2.00], R)
4:118	(SKs7Um, [08, 07: 4.30-5.00], R)
4:119	(LAs9Tm, [24, 03: 2.15-2.45], R)
4:120	(LAs1Rf, [21, 14: 2.15-2.30], E)

Quote Number	Reference
4:121	(KTs1Kf, [05, 06: 8.00-8.15], K)
4:122	(LAs5Kf, [22, 11: 2.45-3.30], E)
4:123	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 1.30-2.15], E)
4:124	(Mt1Rf, [16, 01: 6.15-7.00], E)
4:125	(KTs3Km, [07, 17: 6.00-7.15], K)
4:126	(LAt3Rf, [25, 01: 2.45-3.00], R)
4:127	(Mt2Kf, [16, 10: 4.00-6.45], E)
4:128	(Ss7Kf, [01, 21: 2.00-2.15], R)
4:129	(Ms14Kf, [20, 16: 8.30-9.00], E)
4:130	(LAs7Kf, [23, 11: 3.45-5.00], E)
4:131	(KTs11Kf, [22, 15: 8.00-8.30], K)
4:132	(LAs8Kf, [23, 17: 6.50-7.15], K)
4:133	(SKs1Kf, [05, 02: 3.00-4.00], E)
4:134	(SKs14, [11, 02: 4.30-5.00], R)
4:135	(Mt6Kf, [23, 05: 8.15-9.30], E)
4:136	(Ss3Km, [01, 07: 9.00-9.45], R)
4:137	(SKs5Km, [06, 07: 4.00-4.30], K)
4:138	(Ms2Kf, [17, 03: 0.30-0.45], E)
4:139	(SKs9Kf, [10, 01: 9.00-9.15], E)
4:140	(Ms5Rf, [19, 01: 7.30-7.45], R)
4:141	(Ms3Rm, [17, 11: 4.45-5.15], E)
4:142	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 5.45-6.15], R)
4:143	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 8.15-8.30], E)
4:144	(LAs1Rf, [21, 14: 7.00-7.30], E)
4:145	(Ms7Rm, [19, 07: 5.15-5.45], R)
4:146	(Ss5Kom, [01, 15: 5.30-5.45], E)
4:147	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 13: 0.00-0.30], E)
4:148	(LAs9Tm, [24, 03: 8.00-8.15], R)
4:149	(KTt1Kf, [07, 01: 5.30-6.00], E)
4:150	(SKs1Kf, [05, 01: 8.15-9.00], E)
4:151	(LAs11Kf, [24, 0.30-1.15], E)
4:152	(LAs10Km, [24, 06: 8.45-9.15], E)
4:153	(LAs5Kf, [22, 11: 7.30-8.00], E)
4:154	(KTs7Km, [09, 07: 3.30-4.00], E)
4:155	(SKs12Km, [10, 12: 0.00-0.45], E)
4:156	(LAs3Kf, [22, 02: 2.45-3.15], E)
4:157	(LAs12Km, [24, 14: 6.45-7.30], E)
4:158	(Ss1Kf, [01, 01: 5.15-5.30], R)
4:159	(KTs8Km, [09, 10: 5.30-6.45], E)
4:160	(Mt2Kf, [16, 11: 9.00- 12: 0.15], E)
4:161	(SKt1Kf, [06, 12: 1.45-2.45], E)
4:162	(LAt3Rf, [25, 01: 6.30-6.45], R)
4:163	(Ms7Rm, [19, 07: 3.45-4.00], R)
4:164	(Ms3Rm, [17, 10: 8.45-9.15], E)
4:165	(Ms5Rf, [19, 01: 5.30-5.45], R)
4:166	(Mt1Rf, [16, 02: 7.30-8.00], E)
4:167	(SS1Kf, [01, 01: 5.15-6.00], R)
4:168	(LAs11Kf, [24, 10: 1.30-2.30], E)
4:169	(KTs1Kf, [05, 08: 2.00-2.30], K)
4:170	(KTt1Kf, [07, 01: 6.00-6.30], E)
4:171	(SKs8Km, [08, 17: 1.30-2.00], E)
4:172	(KTt2Kf, [07, 04: 8.30-8.45], E)
4:173	(Mt5Km, [18, 01: 8.00-9.45], E)
4:174	(Ms13Kf, [20, 13: 4.45-6.00], E)
4:175	(SKs1Kf, [05, 01: 9.00-10.00], E)
4:176	(SKs14Km, [11, 02: 2.15-3.00], R)
4:177	(Mt2Kf, [16, 12: 1.00-1.15], E)
4:178	(KTs3Km, [07, 01: 0.00-1.00], K)
4:179	(SKs4Km, [06, 03: 0.00-0.45], K)
4:180	(KTs5Km, [08, 12: 2.30-3.00], R)
4:181	(Ms5Rf, [19, 01: 6.00-6.15], R)
4:182	(St2Rf, [03, 08: 2.30-3.00], R)

Quote Number	Reference
4:183	(Ms3Rm, [17, 10: 9.30- 11: 0.30], E)
4:184	(LAt3Rf, [25, 01: 6.45-7.30], R)
4:185	(Ms6Rf, [19, 04: 6.00-6.45], R)
5:1	(KTs7km, [09, 06: 1.15-2.00], E)
5:2	(SKs9kf, [10, 01: 1.15-1.45], E)
5:3	(Ss2Rf, [01, 04: 1.30-1.45], R)
5:4	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 9.15-9.45], E)
5:5	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 12: 1.30-2.45], E)
5:6	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 1.15-2.00], E)
5:7	(Ss10Rf, [02, 09: 2.00-2.15], R)
5:8	(KTs8Km, [09, 10: 2.30-2.40], E)
5:9	(SKs9Kf, [10, 01: 1.45-2.15], E)
5:10	(Lat1Rf, [21, 01: 6.00-6.45], E)
5:11	(SKs7Um, [08, 07: 5.15-6.00], R)
5:12	(KTs7Km, [09, 06: 4.00-4.45], R)
5:13	(SKs9Kf, [10, 01: 9.30-9.45], E)
5:14	(Ss8Kof, [02, 03: 1.00-1.20], R)
5:15	(SKs10Km, [10, 04: 3.30-3.40], E)
5:16	(Ms10Ukf, [19, 20: 1.30-2.20], E)
5:17	(KTs2Kym, [07, 13: 5.00-5.30], K)
5:18	(KTs11Kf, [22, 15: 3.00-3.30], K)
5:19	(Ss7Kf, [01, 21: 0.30-1.00], R)
5:20	(Ms3Rm, [17, 11: 5.30-6.00], E)
5:21	(KTs7Km, [09, 06: 8.30-10.00], E)
5:22	(Las3Kf, [22, 01: 6.30-7.00], E)
5:23	(Ss8Kof, [02, 03: 0.00-0.45], R)
5:24	(Mt2Kf, [16, 11: 5.00-5.45], E)
5:25	(Ms3Rm, [17, 01: 0.00-1.20], E)
5:26	(Las11Kf, [24, 09: 3.45-4.45], E)
5:27	(KTs10, [09, 15: 3.30-4.00], R)
5:28	(SKs11Km, [10, 08: 3.00-3.20], E)
5:29	(Ss7Kf, [01, 21: 2.00-2.20], R)
5:30	(KTs1Kf, [05, 06: 9.00-10.00], K)
5:31	(Mt2Kf, [16, 11: 1.45-2.30], E)
5:32	(Las8Kf, [23, 16: 6.00-7.00], R,K)
5:33	(Ms6Rf, [19, 04: 3.00-4.00], R)
5:34	(Ss8Kof, [02, 03: 0.00-0.45], R)
5:35	(Ms12Kf, [20, 06: 8.00-8.30], E)
5:36	(Ss9Rm, [02, 06: 3.30-3.45], R)
5:37	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 0.00-0.45], E)
5:38	(LAs7Kf, [23, 11: 6.10-6.40], E)
5:39	(LAs3Kf, [22, 03: 5.00-6.15], E)
5:40	(Mt2Kf, [16, 11: 8.10-9.00], E)
5:41	(Ms10Ukf, [19, 19: 5.30-5.45, 6.30-7.10], E)
5:42	(KTs5Km, [08, 12: 5.4-6.20], R)
5:43	(KTs1Kf, [05, 07: 7.30-8.10], K)
5:44	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 5.10-6.00], E)
5:45	(Mt2Kf, [16, 11: 1.00-1.50], E)
5:46	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 0.30-1.15], E)
5:47	(Ms2Kf, [17, 02: 1.2-2.00], E)
5:48	(Ss2Rf, [01, 04: 1.30-1.45], R)
5:49	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 0.45-1.30], E)
5:50	(KTs5Km, [08, 12: 1.30-2.00], R)
5:51	(Ss11Kf, [02, 12: 2.00-2.30], R)
5:52	(Mt3Rm, [17, 05: 4.15-4.45], R)
5:53	(Kts3Km, [07, 17: 2.30-4.00], K)
5:54	(SKs12Km, [10, 13: 1.00-2.00], E,R)
5:55	(KTs1Kf, [05, 06: 2.00-2.30], K)
5:56	(SKs3Km, [05, 16: 2.00-3.15], E)
5:57	(Sks5Km, [06, 06: 2.30-2.50], R)

Quote Number	Reference
5:58	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 9.30-10.15, 12: 0.00-0.50], E)
5:59	(Mt2Kf, [16, 10: 4.00-5.15], E)
5:60	(Mt4Rf, [17, 15: 5.00-6.00], R)
5:61	(Ss7Kf, [02, 01: 2.00-2.30], R)
5:62	(Ss10Rf, [02, 09: 0.00-0.30], R)
5:63	(Ss9Rm, [02, 06: 0.15-0.45], R)
5:64	(SKs10Km, [10, 05: 3.30], E,R)
5:65	(KTt2Kf, [07, 04: 6.05-6.40], E)
5:66	(Lat2Tm, [21, 07: 0.00-1.00], R)
5:67	(SKt1Kf [06, 11: 8.40-9.15], E)
5:68	(KTs7Km, [09, 06: 9.30- 07: 0.15], R)
5:69	(LAs9Tm, [24, 03: 4.15-4.45], R)
5:70	(SKs14Km, [11, 01: 0.30-1.00], R)
5:71	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 0.30-1.00], E)
5:72	(KTs10,Kf, [09, 15: 5.00-6.00], E,R)
5:73	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 1.00-1.20], R)
5:74	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 6.30-6.50], R)
5:75	(Ss1Kf, [01, 02: 7.15-7.30], R)
5:76	(Ms9Rf, [19, 18: 2.40-3.00], E)
5:77	(Ms6Rf, [19, 05: 8.45-9.00], R)
5:78	(Mt5Km[18, 05: 1.40-2.10], E)
5:79	(LAs1Rf, [21, 16: 4.00-4.30], E)
5:80	(St2Rf, [03, 08: 3.00-3.30], R)
5:81	(KTs2Kym, [07, 13: 5.00-5.40], K)
5:82	(LAs6Rf, [23, 01: 8.00-8.25], E)
5:83	(KTs10Kf, [09, 16: 4.15-4.45], R)
5:84	(Ss5Kom, [01, 15: 5.50-6.10], E)
5:85	(KTs2Kym, [07, 14: 4.30-4.40], K)
5:86	(SKs14Km, [11, 01: 0.30-1.10], R)
5:87	(Ss11Kf, [03, 01: 4.00-4.20], R)
5:88	(LAs11Kf, [24, 10: 5.00-6.00], E)
5:89	(37t1Km, [14, 01: 0.10-0.30, 0.45-1.15], R)
5:90	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 12: 1.30-2.00], E)
5:91	(SKs3Km, [05, 17: 3.30-4.10], E)
5:92	(KTs3Km, [07, 01: 6.00-6.30], K)
5:93	(Ms6Rf, [19, 04: 0.50-1.50], R)
5:94	(LAs5Kf, [22, 12: 3.50-4.20], E)
5:95	(SKs5Km, [06, 07: 6.00-7.00], K)
5:96	(Ss11Kf, [02, 13: 3.30-4.15], R)
5:97	(St1Kf, [03, 05: 1.00-1.45], R)
5:98	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 9.40-17: 0.05], E)
5:99	(SKs5Km, [06, 07: 8.00-8.30], K)
5:100	(Mt1Rf, [16, 03: 4.30-8.10], E)
5:101	(LAs2Uf, [21, 17: 9.05-9.20], E)
5:102	(Ss11Kf, [02, 13: 4.45-5.15], R)
5:103	(SKs14Km, [11, 02: 5.30-6.30], R)
5:104	(Ms5Rf, [19, 01: 8.30-8.50], R)
5:105	(KTs11Kf, [22, 15: 9.00-9.30], K)
5:106	(KTs8Km, [09, 10: 8.15-8.30], E)
5:107	(SKs12Km, [10, 11: 2.00-2.50], E)
5:108	(KTs10Kf, [09, 16: 3.00-3.30], E)
5:109	(Mt5Km, [18, 02: 9.25-03: 0.30], E)
5:110	(SKs14Km, [11, 01: 1.00-1.15], R)
5:111	(KTs7Km, [09, 06: 4.00-5.10], R)
5:112	(Ss12Km, [03, 03: 4.45-5.00], R)
5:113	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 9.15-9.30], E)

Quote Number	Reference
5:114	(St1Kf, [03, 05: 0.00-1.00], R)
5:115	(St3Kf, [03, 11: 5.50-6.50], E)
5:116	(Mt5Km, [18, 01: 6.10-7.15], E)
5:117	(Lat2Tm, [21, 09: 0.00-1.30], R)
5:118	(SKt1Kf, [06, 11: 1.05-1.30], E)
5:119	(Ms9Rf, [19, 16: 6.30-7.20], E)
5:120	(Lat1Rf, [21, 01: 0.35-1.00], E)
6:1	(KTs1Kf, [05, 10: 1.00], K)
6:2	(KTs4Km, [08, 05: 2.20], K)
6:3	(SKs14Km, [11, 02: 9.50-03: 0.15], E)
6:4	(LAs10Km, [24, 07: 3.00-3.25], E)
6:5	(LAs7Kf, [23, 12: 1.30-2.00], E)
6:6	(SKs12Km, [10, 12: 8.55-9.05], E)
6:7	(LAs11Kf, [24, 10: 8.10-8.20], E)
6:8	(St3Kf, [03, 13: 1.20-1.50], E)
6:9	(LAs9Tm, [24, 04: 0.00-0.20], R)
6:10	(Ms9Rf, [19, 17: 3.35-3.45], E)
6:11	(KTt2Kf, [07, 05: 10.00- 06: 0.55], E)
6:12	(SKs11Km, [10, 09: 1.00-1.10], E)
6:13	(Ms2Kf, [17, 03: 4.25-4.30], E)
6:14	(KTs5Km, [08, 13: 5.05-5.30], R)
6:15	(Ss11Kf, [02, 14: 1.00-1.30], R)
6:16	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 8.05-8.25], R)
6:17	(SKs9Kf, [10, 02: 1.00-1.55], E)
6:18	(SKs1Kf, [05, 03: 1.00-1.15], E)
6:19	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 8.20-8.35], R)
6:20	(Ms14Kf, [20, 1.50-2.10], E)
6:21	(Mt6Kf, [23, 06: 4.15-5.35], E)
6:22	(KTs10Kf, [09, 16: 6.30-7.15], R)
6:23	(KTs9Km, [09, 13: 7.00-7.30], E)
6:24	(Ss3Km, [01, 08: 1.55-2.05], R)
6:25	(Ss7Kf, [02, 01: 4.05-4.10], R)
6:26	(KTs6Kf, [09, 01: 8.05], R,K)
6:27	(LAs11Kf, [24, 10: 8.30-8.40], E)
6:28	(SKs9Kf, [10, 02: 2.00-2.15], E)
6:29	(Ms2Kf, [17, 03: 5.05-5.45], E)
6:30	(Ms4Kf, [19, 09: 1.00-1.20], R)
6:31	(SKs1Kf, [05, 02: 5.50-6.00], E)
6:32	(SKs11Km, [10, 09: 1.45-2.00], E)
6:33	(LAs2Uf, [21, 18: 2.35-3.10], E)
6:34	(SKs14Km, [11, 02: 9.10-10.00], E)
6:35	(Mt6Kf, [23, 06: 6.40-7.00], E)
6:36	(SKs10Km, [10, 04: 7.20-7.40], E)
6:37	(LAs10Km, [24, 07: 3.30-4.00], E)
6:38	(KTs6Kf, [09, 01: 8.00-8.15], R)
6:39	(KTt1Kf, [07, 02: 1.10-2.15], E,R)
6:40	(SKs3Km, [05, 17: 6.00-6.30], E)
6:41	(SKs4Km, [06, 03: 4.35-5.00], K)
6:42	(Ss2Rf, [01, 05: 0.30-0.45], R)
6:43	(Ss8Kof, [02, 08: 8.20-8.30], R)
6:44	(Ms10Ukf, [19, 19: 9.40-10.00], E)
6:45	(Ms7Rm, [19, 07: 6.30-6.45], R)
6:46	(St1Kf, [03, 06: 2.30-3.30], R)
6:47	(St1Kf, [03, 05: 2.05-3.00], R)
6:48	(Lat1Rf, [21, 02: 5.40-6.30], E)
6:49	(SKt1Kf, [06, 13: 6.15-6.45], E)
6:50	(KTt2Kf, [07, 05: 6.40-7.20], E)
6:51	(Mt5Km, [18, 04: 0.30-0.50], E)
6:52	(Mt2Kf, [16, 12: 6.30-7.20], E)
6:53	(KTs7Km, [09, 07: 9.10-9.30], E)
6:54	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 13: 4.35-4.45], E)

Quote Number	Reference
6:55	(SKt1Kf, [06, 13: 6.40-6.50, 7.30-8.00], E)
6:56	(Ss11Kf, [02, 13: 6.10-6.55], R)
6:57	(Ss7Kf, [02, 01: 4.20-4.30], R)
6:58	(Lat2Tm, [21, 09: 8.00-8.40], R)
6:59	(Ss3Km, [01, 08: 2.20-2.30], R)
6:60	(Ss12Km, [03, 03: 6.15-6.30], E)
6:61	(KTt1Kf, [07, 02: 2.15-2.55], E)
6:62	(37t1Km, [14,], R)
6:63	(Ms4Kf, [19, 09: 1.20-2.00], R)
6:64	(Mt2Kf, [16, 12: 8.00-8.45], E)
6:65	(Ss1Kf, [01, 01: 9.35-02:00], R)
6:66	(St3Kf, [03, 12: 5.10-5.30], E)
6:67	(SKs4Km, [06, 03: 5.00-6.00], K)
6:68	(SKs8Km, [08, 17: 8.40-9.00], E)
6:69	(Mt6Kf, [23, 06: 7.00-7.45], E)
6:70	(St2Rf, [03, 09: 2.30-3.00], R)
6:71	(Ms7Rm, [19, 07: 6.45-7.00], R)
6:72	(KTs4Km, [08, 05: 2.30-3.00], K)
6:73	(KTs1Kf, [05, 09: 0.30-0.55], K)
6:74	(LAs12Km, [24, 15: 2.20-2.35], E)
6:75	(KTs2Kym, [07, 14: 6.30-7.00], K)
6:76	(KTs3Km, [08, 01: 3.30-3.40], K)
6:77	(Ms2Kf, [17, 03: 6.20-6.30], E)
6:78	(Mt5Km, [18, 02: 2.05-2.20], E)
6:79	(Ms14Kf, [20, 17: 4.05-4.15], E)
6:80	(SKs7Um, [08, 08: 9.50-09: 0.10], R)
6:81	(SKs7Um, [08: 09: 0.10-0.30], R)
6:82	(SKs8Km, [08, 17: 9.30-10.00], E)
6:83	(SKt1Kf, [06, 13: 7.20-7.30], E)
6:84	(SKt1Kf, [06, 13: 6.50-7.25], E)
6:85	(Ss5Kom, [01, 15: 7.20-7.40], E)
6:86	(St3Kf, [03, 12: 4.50-5.20], E)
6:87	(LAs12Km, [24, 15: 3.30-3.45], E)
6:88	(KTs5Km, [08, 13: 7.30-8.00], R)
6:89	(KTs6Kf, [09, 01: 9.00-9.20], R)
6:90	(St2Rf, [03, 09: 3.25-3.55], R)
6:91	(37t2Km, [13, 03: 1.00-1.10], K)
6:92	(SKs3Km, [05, 17: 8.00-8.20], E)
6:93	(SKs14Km, [11, 03: 1.55-2.25], E)
6:94	(KTs2Kym, [07, 14: 8.00-8.20], K)
6:95	(37t1Km, [14], R)
6:96	(KTs9Km, [09, 13: 8.10-8.25], E)
6:97	(KTs1Kf, [05, 09: 2.30-3.30], K)
6:98	(Mt2Kf, [16, 12: 9.30-13: 0.05], E)
6:99	(LAT2Tm, [21, 09: 8.35-8.50], R)
6:100	(SKs13Km, [10, 17: 1.30-1.55], K)
6:101	(St1Kf, [03, 06: 4.10-4.30], R)
6:102	(37t2Km, [13, 02: 1.00-1.40], K)
6:103	(LAT2Tm, [21, 09: 8.05-8.25, 8.50-9.00], R)
6:104	(LAs2Uf, [21, 18: 4.10-4.25], E)
6:105	(Ms4Kf, [19, 09: 4.00-4.30], R)
6:106	(Ms7Rm, [19, 07: 8.00-8.15], R)
6:107	(Ms5Rf, [19, 02: 1.00-1.15], R)
6:108	(Mt1Rf, [16, 05: 0.50-1.10, 06: 1.15-2.15, 3.00-3.20], E)
6:109	(Mt2Kf, [16, 13: 0.30-2.00] E)
6:110	(St2Rf, [03, 09: 4.00-5.50], R)
6:111	(Kts3Km, [08, 02: 4.30-5.00], K)
6:112	(SKs5Km, [06, 08: 6.30-8.00], K)
6:113	(LAs11Kf, [24, 11: 1.35-2.05], E)
6:114	(LAs7Kf, [23, 12: 6.20-6.45], E)
6:115	(LAs2Uf, [21, 18: 0.30-1.40], E)

Quote Number	Reference
6:116	(St3Kf, [03, 12: 8.30-9.20], E)
6:117	(LAT2Tm, [21, 10: 00.00-0.40, 1.10-1.30], R)
6:118	(St1Kf, [03, 06: 6.50-7.55], R)
6:119	(Ss7Kf, [02, 01: 6.00-6.15], R)
6:120	(Ss5Kom, [01, 15: 8.00-8.25], E)
6:121	(St1Kf, [03, 05: 9.40- 06: 0.30], R)
6:122	(Mt5Km, [18, 03: 6.45-7.10], E)
6:123	(SKs1Kf, [05, 03: 00.00-1.00], E)
6:124	(LAs5Kf, [22, 12: 9.20- 13: 0.10], E)
6:125	(LAs7Kf, [23, 12: 6.55-8.20], E,R)
6:126	(LAs2Uf, [21, 18: 6.30-7.25], E)
6:127	(St2Rf, [03, 09: 5.55-6.30], R)
6:128	(St3Kf, [03, 13: 0.45-1.10], E)
6:129	(LAT2Tm, [21, 10: 4.15-4.50], R)
6:130	(KTs4Km, [08, 05: 4.40-5.00], K)
6:131	(KTs5Km, [08, 13: 9.05-9.25], R)
6:132	(Mt6Kf, [23, 07: 0.50-1.20], E)
6:133	(37t2Km, [13, 03: 3.30-4.30], K)
6:134	(SKs5Km, [06, 08: 8.00-8.50], K)
6:135	(Ms14Kf, [20, 17: 5.50-6.15], E)
6:136	(KTs1Kf, [05, 09: 9.00- 10: 0.45], K)
6:137	(SKs3Km, [05, 18: 0.05-1.00], E)
6:138	(KTs9Km, [09, 13: 9.30-9.40], E)
6:139	(SKs7Um, [08, 09: 2.55-3.30], R)
6:140	(SKs12Km, [10, 13: 3.50-5.00], E)
6:141	(Ms11Kf, [20, 03: 6.30-7.50], E)
6:142	(Ss7Kf, [02, 01: 7.45-8.20], R)
6:143	(KTs7Km, [09, 08: 3.05-3.35], E)
6:144	(Ms5Rf, [19, 02: 2.05-2.45], R)
6:145	(Ms3Rm, [17, 12: 4.00-4.25], E)
6:146	(LAs2Uf, [21, 18: 7.50-8.10], E)
6:147	(Ms12Kf, [20, 09: 4.00-4.15], E)
6:148	(Mt5Km, [18, 04: 6.35-7.10], E)
6:149	(Ms2Kf, [17, 03: 9.30-9.50], E)
6:150	(Ss5Kom, [01, 15: 9.15-9.45], E)
6:151	(KTt1Kf, [07, 02: 7.00-7.30], E)
6:152	(Ss8Kof, [02, 04: 1.40-1.55], R)
6:153	(Ss9Rm, [02, 07: 2.05-2.20], R)
6:154	(Ms6Rf, [19, 05: 4.10-4.30], R)
6:155	(Ms6Rf, [19, 05: 5.20-5.25], R)
6:156	(Ms7Rm, [19, 07: 8.50-9.30], R)
6:157	(Ms12Kf, [20, 09: 4.00-4.55], E)
6:158	(LAs11Kf, [24, 11: 4.05-4.40], E)
6:159	(LAT2Tm, [21, 10: 7.30-8.25], R)
6:160	(Ss8Kof, [02, 04: 2.40-3.00], R)
6:161	(KTs11Kf, [22, 16: 9.00-9.15], K)
6:162	(KTs9Km, [09, 14: 0.10-0.30], E)
6:163	(Ss4Rm, [01, 13: 1.45-2.00], R)
6:164	(SKs1Kf, [05, 03: 3.05-3.55], E)
6:165	(Ms14Kf, [20, 17: 7.00-7.10], E)
6:166	(Ss5Kom, [01, 15: 9.45-10.00], E)
6:167	(Ms3Rm, [17, 12: 4.20-5.15], E)
6:168	(KTt2Kf, [07, 06: 2.30-3.05], E)
6:169	(SKs7Um, [08, 09: 1.05-1.30], R)
6:170	(Ss3Km, [01, 08: 3.30-4.00], R)
6:171	(LAs4Rf, [22, 08: 9.35-10.00], R)
6:172	(Ss5Kom, [01, 15: 7.40-7.55], E)
6:173	(Ss2Rf, [01, 05: 2.05-2.35], R)
6:174	(St3Kf, [03, 12: 5.55-6.40, 7.50-8.00], E)
6:175	(LAs9Tm, [24, 04: 4.30-4.45], R)
6:176	(Ms6Rf, [19, 05: 6.30-7.00], R)
6:177	(LAs10Km, [24, 08: 0.25-0.45], E)

Quote Number	Reference	Quote Number	Reference
6:178	(LAs1Rf, [21, 15: 6.00-6.40], E)	6:240	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 14: 5.00-5.55], E)
6:179	(KTt2Kf, [07, 06: 5.30-6.10], E)	6:241	(KTt1Kf, [07, 03: 3.00-3.25], E)
6:180	(LAs4Rf, [22, 09: 3.00-3.25], R)	6:242	(KTs2Kym, [07, 16: 0.00-1.55], K)
6:181	(SKs4Km, [06, 04: 4.30-5.20], K)	6:243	(SKs7Um, [08, 10: 2.00-2.55], R)
6:182	(KTs3Km, [08, 02: 7.45-8.15], K)	6:244	(SKs14Km, [11, 05: 6.25-7.50], E)
6:183	(KTs9Km, [09, 14: 1.30-1.40], E)	6:245	(KTs9Km, [09, 14: 2.35-2.55], E)
6:184	(LAs5Kf, [22, 13: 6.35-7.20], E)	6:246	(KTs3Km, [08, 03: 1.00-1.55], K)
6:185	(KTs8Km, [09, 11: 7.20-7.30], E)	6:247	(Ms4Kf, [19, 10: 3.00-3.55], R)
6:186	(KTs1Kf, [05, 11: 1.00-1.25], K)	6:248	(Ss7Kf, [02, 02: 2.00-2.20], R)
6:187	(SKs5Km, [06, 09: 8.35-9.00], K)	6:249	(Ms7Rm, [19, 08: 2.45-3.00], R)
6:188	(Ss12Km, [03, 04: 2.30- 2.55], R)	6:250	(LAt2Tm, [21, 12: 6.05-6.30, 8.00-8.25], R)
6:189	(SKs2Uyf, [05, 14: 3.25-3.45], E)	6:251	(SKs3Km, [05, 19: 5.30-6.15], E)
6:190	(KTs6Kf, [09, 02: 2.35-2.55], R)	6:252	(St3Kf, [03, 14:10.00- 15: 0.15], E)
6:191	(KTs5Km, [08, 14: 3.00-3.20], R)	6:253	(Ss1Kf, [01, 02: 7.15-7.30], R)
6:192	(Ms14Kf, [20, 18: 0.30-0.45], E)	6:254	(KTt2Kf, [07, 07: 5.30-5.50], E)
6:193	(KTs1Kf, [05, 10: 8.55-9.10], K)	6:255	(Ss4Rm, [01, 13: 7.25-7.40], R)
6:194	(Ss6Ukf, [01, 19: 1.30-1.40], R)	6:256	(Ss2Rf, [01, 05: 2.00-2.25], R)
6:195	(Ss7Kf, [02, 01: 9.30-9.50], R)	6:257	(KTt1Kf, [07, 02: 4.15-4.55], R,E.)
6:196	(SKs7Um, [08, 09: 9.00-9.20], R)	6:258	(Ms12Kf, [20, 10: 6.50-7.50], E)
6:197	(SKs4Km, [06, 04: 5.30-5.45], K)	6:259	(LAs12Km, [24, 16: 2.20-2.35], E)
6:198	(KTs10Kf, [09, 17: 8.50-9.00], K)	6:260	(Mt2Kf, [16, 10: 6.35-7.05], E)
6:199	(Ss12Km, [03, 04: 2.05-2.25], R)	6:261	(SKs13Km, [10, 17: 7.00-7.10], K)
6:200	(LAs7Kf, [23, 13: 3.30-3.55], R)	6:262	(LAs12Rm, [24, 15:8.00-8,20], E)
6:201	(KTs3Km, [08, 02: 8.25-8.40], K)	6:263	(Ms9Rf, [19, 17: 7.30-7.45], E)
6:202	(KTs1Kf, [05, 10: 8.20-8.30], K)	6:264	(Ms10Ukf, [19, 20: 3.45-3.55], E)
6:203	(Ms5Rf, [19, 02: 4.35-4.45], R)	6:265	(Ms13Kf, [20, 14: 3.15-3.35], E)
6:204	(Ms7Rm, [19, 08: 1.00-1.15], R)	6:266	(LAs8Kf, [23, 19: 4.30-4.35, 24, 01: 0.00-0.05], E)
6:205	(Ms1Uf, [16, 18: 4.25-4.40], R)	6:267	(Ms14Kf, [20, 17: 8.50-9.05], E)
6:206	(Ss8Kof, [02, 04: 3.55-4.15], R)	6:268	(LAs5Kf, [22, 13: 2.45-3.10], E)
6:207	(Ss2Rf, [01, 05: 7.30-8.15], R)	6:269	(SKs3Km, [05, 18: 8.00-8.10], E)
6:208	(Ms4Kf, [19, 10: 0.00-0.15], R)	6:270	(SKs6Kf, [07, 09: 4.00-4.30], K)
6:209	(KTs2Kym, [07, 15: 7.00-7.20], K)	6:271	(SKs7Um, [08, 09: 7.55-8.05], R)
6:210	(KTs11Kf, [22, 17: 8.30-9.25], K)	6:272	(KTt2Kf, [07, 06: 3.50-4.05], E)
6:211	(Ss11Kf, [02, 14: 5.55-6.10], R)	6:273	(SKs9Kf, [10, 03: 0.40-0.55], E)
6:212	(Ss10Kf, [02, 10: 9.00-9.10], R)	6:274	(LAs3Kf, [22, [05: 1.25-1.40], E)
6:213	(Ss12Km, [03, 04: 3.00-3.10], R)	6:275	(SKt1Kf, [06, 15: 5.30-6.10], E)
6:214	(Ss2Rf, [01, 05: 8.50-9.10], R)	6:276	(SKs12Km, [10, 14: 0.00-0.20], E)
6:215	(Ms4Kf, [19, 10: 1.00-1.50], R)	6:277	(KTt2Kf, [07, 06: 4.15-5.10], E)
6:216	(LAs10Km, [24, 08: 1.35-1.55], E)	6:278	(Ms7Rm, [19, 08: 4.05-4.25], R)
6:217	(LAs9Tm, [24, 04: 5.15-5.35], R)	6:279	(Ms13Kf, [20, 15: 0.30-0.50], E)
6:218	(SKs6Kf, [07, 11: 7.00-7.25], R)	6:280	(KTt2Kf, [07, 07: 6.05-6.30], E)
6:219	(Ms8Uf, [19, 14: 8.30-8.50], E)	6:281	(Ms2Kf, [17, 04: 4.00-4.40], E)
6:220	(Ss4Rm, [01, 13: 4.20-4.35], R)	6:282	(SKs6Kf, [07, 11: 4.30-4.50], R)
6:221	(SKs8Km, [08, 18: 5.55-6.10], E)	6:283	(SKs9Kf, [10, 03: 6.00-6.20], E)
6:222	(Ss2Rf, [01, 05: 9.20-9.35], R)	6:284	(LAt3Rf, [25, 04: 4.30-6.20], R)
6:223	(SKs5Km, [06, 09: 7.25-7.55], K)	6:285	(Ss2Rf, [01, 06: 2.30-2.55], R)
6:224	(KTs4Km, [08, 05: 9.30-9.40], K)	6:286	(Ss9Rm, [02, 07: 8.30-8.50], R)
6:225	(KTs3Km, [08, 02: 9.35-9.55], K)	6:287	(Ss10Rf, [02, 11: 4.30-4.55], R)
6:226	(LAs6Rf, [23, 02: 8.30-855], E)	6:288	(KTs5Km, [08, 14: 8.30-9.00], R)
6:227	(Ss11Kf, [02, 14: 7.00-7.25], R)	6:289	(Ms4Kf, [19, 10: 7.00-7.50], R)
6:228	(Ss6Ukf, [01, 19: 2.25-2.55], R)	6:290	(SKs7Um, [08, 10: 8.05-8.30], R)
6:229	(KTs2Kym, [07, 15: 9.00-9.20], K)	6:291	(Ms9Rf, [19, 18: 3.55-4.25], E)
6:230	(KTs4Km, [08, 05: 9.40-10.00], K)	6:292	(Ms4Kf, [19, 10: 6.10-6.25], R)
6:231	(KTs7Km, [09, 08: 8.50-9.10], E)	6:293	(Ms6Rf, [19, 05: 9.40-9.50], R)
6:232	(LAs3Kf, [22, 05: 6.55-7.10], E)	6:294	(LAs4Rf, [22, 09: 8.45-8.50], R)
6:233	(Ms8Uf, [19, 14: 9.55-15: 0.25], E)	6:295	(LAs9Tm, [24, 04: 9.30-9.45], R)
6:234	(LAs10Km, [24, 08: 2.25-2.40], E)	6:296	(LAs10Km, [24, 08: 7.05-7.15], E)
6:235	(Ms1Uf, [16, 18: 5.15-5.30], R)	6:297	(SKs13Km, [10, 18: 1.30-1.35], K)
6:236	(Ms14Kf, [20, 18: 1.50-2.25], E)	6:298	(SKs3Km, [06, 01: 1.10-1.30], E,K)
6:237	(KTs9km, [09, 14: 2.10-2.20], E)	6:299	(Mt1Rf, [16, 08: 3.40-3.55], E)
6:238	(Ms1Uf, [16, 18: 6.00-6.25], R)	6:300	(Ms10Ukf, [20, 01: 1.35-1.40], E)
6:239	(Ms2Kf, [17, 04: 2.00-2.30], E)		

Quote Number	Reference
6:301	(KTs4Km, [08, 06: 4.00-4.25], K)
6:302	(LAs9Tm, [24, 05: 0.40-1.00], R)
6:303	(SKt1Kf, [06, 17: 2.35-3.00], E)
6:304	(KTs1Kf, [05, 11: 7.00-7.25], K)
6:305	(Ms9Rf, [19, 18: 4.30-5.25], E)
6:306	(LAs4Rf, [22, 09: 9.35-10.05], R)
6:307	(KTs2Kym, [07, 16: 7.00-7.55], K)
6:308	(SKs6Kf, [07, 11: 10.00-12: 0.25], R)
6:309	
6:310	(Ss8Kof, [02, 04: 8.45-9.00], R)
6:311	(SKs3Km, [06, 01: 1.55-2.05], E,K)
6:312	(Ms6Rf, [19, 05: 9.50-10.05], R)
6:313	(Mt1Rf, [16, 08: 4.10-4.30, 4.50-5.50], E)
6:314	(SKt1Kf, [06, 17: 1.30-1.50], E)
6:315	(Ms5Rf, [19, 02: 8.15-8.25], R)
6:316	(Ms2Kf, [17, 04: 5.00-5.15], E)
6:317	(Ms1Uf, [16, 18: 9.15-9.30], R)
6:318	(SKs10Km, [10, 06: 9.30-9.35], E,K)
7:66	(St1Kf, [03, 05: 0.00-1.00], R)
8:2	(Sen1 [26, 02: 7.00- 03: 1.40], R)
8:3	(Sen4, [26: 16: 0.10-0.45], R)
8:4	(Sen3, [26, 13: 0.40-1.25], R)
8:5	(Sen2 [26, 08: 2.15-2.50, 3.40-3.55, 7.45-8.00], R)
8:6	(MP1, [27: 08: 7.00-7.30], R)
8:16	(MP2, [27, 13: 0.05-1.20], R)
8:17	(MP1, [27, 09: 6.00-7.00], R)
8:18	(Sen3, [26, 14: 2.05-2.25], R)
8:22	(Sen6, [27, 03: 5.05-5.50], R)
8:23	(Sen5, [26, 20: 3.20-4.15], R)
8:24	(MP2, [27, 12: 4.45-6.45], R)
8:25	(Sen4, [26, 17: 6.05-6.15], R)
8:26	(MP1, [27, 09: 5.05-5.35], R)
8:27	(Sen1, [26, 05: 4.10-5.05], R)
8:28	(Sen2, [26, 09: 0.40-1.15], R)
8:34	(Sen2, [26, 07: 0.00-1.15], R)
8:35	(MP2, [27, 11: 0.00-0.50], R)
8:36	(Sen7, [27, 06: 0.30-0.45, 1.15-1.45], R)
8:37	(Sen6, [27, 01: 2.00-3.00], R)
8:42	(MP1, [27, 08: 9.00-10.00], R)
8:43	(Sen3, [26, 13: 2.50-3.05, 4.30-5.05], R)
8:44	(Sen2, [26, 08: 3.45-4.05], R)
8:45	(Sen5, [26, 19: 9.25-10.00], R)
8:46	(Sen4, [26, 15: 2.30-3.45], R)
8:47	(Sen1, [26, 03: 1.05-1.25], R)
8:55	(Sen1, [26, 02: 1.00-1.30], R)
8:56	(MP1, [27, 08: 1.50-2.20], R)
8:59	(Sen5, [26, 18: 2.30-3.10], R)
8:60	(Sen7, [27, 06: 3.10-3.50], R)
8:61	(MP2, [27, 11: 2.40-3.00], R)
8:62	(Sen2, [26, 07: 8.05-8.25], R)
8:63	(Sen2, [26, 08: 0.10-1.20], R)
8:64	(Sen6, [27, 01: 6.35-7.30], R)
8:65	(Sen6, [27, 01: 7.35-8.05], R)

Quote Number	Reference
8:66	(MP1, [27, 08: 4.00-4.45], R)
8:68	(Sen1, [26, 04: 3.20-3.50], R)
8:69	(Sen3, [26, 13: 0.00-0.15], R)
8:70	(Sen2, [26, 08: 1.25-2.00], R)
8:71	(Sen6, [27, 02: 0.35-2.05], R)
8:72	(Sen5, [26, 18: 4.55-7.00], R)
8:76	(Sen5, [26, 18: 7.00-7.50], R)
8:77	(Sen6, [27, 02: 4.25-5.20], R)
8:78	(MP1, [27, 08: 7.00-7.05, 7.30-8.00], R)

Appendix C: Supplementary Quotes

Chapter 4

4:2 “Kind, hospitable, inquisitive, but of course not all, each person has their own character.”

4:9 “*Our people* um are, they say that Kazakh people very um, er, friendly...”

4:17 “Uh, different people, Russian, Kazakh and um, it seems to me, um people of Kazakhstan live in big unity. This country um, how to say...unites yes, unites them - Uzbek, Kazakh, Ukraines, different nationalities. Um, they live uh, together for a long time on this land uh, so um, they have friendship...”

4:27 “Citizen of Kazakhstan.”

4:28 “...I’m a student, a citizen of Kazakhstan.”

4:29 “I work and study. I am glad that I am Kazakhstani and that I was born here.”

4:37 “That after independence Kazakhstan returned to... its language because before independence they only spoke Russian and were proud to speak Russian, to know Russian but now, on the whole everything is in Kazakh.”

4:41 “The first probably that we are free of way of thinking. Then, then we are free of choosing the religion and yeah we can study whenever or whatever we want.”

4:42 “Every person can himself work and build something for himself independently.”

4:50 “Yes, I’m Kazakhstani, I’m Kazakhstani. I know the Kazakh language better than Tatar, I can write and read in Kazakh, study, I give lectures in Kazakh, I give lectures in Russian and in Kazakh so therefore I feel Kazakhstani... And to feel Kazakhstani is very easy because half the population of the Kazakh, Kazakh republic, the Republic of Kazakhstan belong to another culture, Russian culture, Tatar culture, Uyghur, Uzbek, half the population. Therefore, we feel Kazakhstani and are proud of it even... A mono-national state is a somewhat poor nation.”

4:54 “When out of Kazakhstan, when visiting other countries.”

4:55 “Yes, for example, when I met some foreign students.”

4:56 “Yes, when I communicate on the internet.”

4:64 “Yes, for example, when I myself was in Russia, in Moscow, in the centre, and other people immediately said to me, ‘You’ve no doubt come from Kazakhstan, you’re not a Russian like ours,’ Muscovites, living in the capital, ‘you’re completely different.’ First of all they said, ‘You probably speak their language, speak Kazakh, you have an accent, it shows,’ and I said, ‘Yes, I speak it.’ And then that my hospitality, it was noticeable among them and the sociability, that they, for example, I compared, myself, in literature, when you compare traditions and how we relate to them... for some reason they relate to it all differently.”

4:65 “I think so yes, in Kazakhstan people are more kind and hospitable, they don’t look at whether you’re rich or poor, they relate to everyone equally.”

4:66 “Yes, er, they are very er, friendly and they, they are ready to help always and I think I will recognise a um, citizen of Kazakhstan everywhere...people of different nations of our country are close to me.”

4:68 “Yes, because they, because they are part of definite country, for example our Kazakhstan and others, they have their own traditions and they um, in they differ from us by um, for example, these things.”
“Holidays such as New Year, they are common to every ethnic of our country.”

4:71 “...I think people may differ... in their culture, mentality because of the conditions in where they live. So the surrounding, the condition er, influence on the mentality. The economic state influence on the mentality of the people so for this reason there will be difference, because of different condition, different surrounding yeah, different economic, there will be dif, difference between different nation I think.”

4:75 “I’ve been to different countries, for example, I’ve been to Russia, to Kyrgyzstan, to Uzbekistan and I think that people from Kazakhstan are more open, more friendly, you can easily find out how to get around they answer readily, even sitting on the bus you can easily talk...”

4:78 “As I tried to compare for example, when I was in Uzbekistan, in Tashkent, yeah I, I found some differences between the people itself like themselves. For example, I would say that Kazakhstan people they are more polite probably yes and they are open-hearted, hearted people.”

4:81 “Every Kazakhstani, Kazakhstani, whether he’s Russian or Kazakh or Tatar or Uzbek, they have their own traditions, and each one has their own traditions, the Uzbeks, the Tatars, the Russians and all of them are united as one, in one Kazakhstan and they respect Kazakhstan’s traditions”

4:82 “There are several ethnic group, groups here but they are also, they are very friendly from each other and, and in my opinion in our country all groups very friendly than in other countries, it’s my opinion, and so I, I like this country from this position because all people can speak with each other without any fears.”

4:84 “I think it, maybe our, maybe our president is so hospitable and er, all our these laws in constitution is equal for every nation, maybe, maybe this is, I think that all this, every nation has their own ideas, their own um, this way of life and I think maybe it’s our law [that unites all the nationalities in Kazakhstan].”

4:89 “If you compare Kazakhstan with other countries you can see that the economic level is higher than the neighbouring countries, for example, Uzbekistan.”

4:90 “because our Kazakhstan is young country and we develop very fast and so I’m proud of it, how people good workers.”

4:101 “First of all my mother and father is Kazakh...and then in myself Kazakh blood flows.”

4:105 “I know my language, speaking Kazakh, my birth, my origin, my motherland, my eyes, my appearance.”

4:110 “The first language and I like my language very much...”

4:111 “My parents are Kazakh and I speak in Kazakh.”

4:117 “First of all language, then what? Behaviour, manner of relating.”

4:122 “My habits, my family traditions, uh, and my understanding and I love my country, I speak Kazakh, I know all the traditions and I try to follow them.”

4:126 “Most likely my mode of thought...”

4:133 “I’m proud with my people, with our language, our musical instrument and character of our people.”

4:137 “[I am] proud of the achievements from ancestors and independence and culture and traditions and language.”

4:138 “Because finally we became independent I’m proud of it...and nevertheless uh, we have lots of problem but nevertheless we kept our religion, and our like our culture, many customs that we still have.”

4:139 “I am proud of my country, proud of my Kazakhstan...”

4:141 “I think yes, everyone should be proud of nationality um, which he has or she has. Yes, I’m proud...”

4:145 “In Kazakhstan in principle I can’t be proud of anything. If I was in Russia then, that the country is big, that I have such a history...”

4:148 “Probably my origins and traditional celebrations...”

4:152 “It’s like if you don’t know the language or the traditions you don’t know anything of the people, every Kazakh must know his language.”

4:153 “It’s very important because all the traditions of history of Kazakhstan and majority of literature are written in this language and it’s important to each Kazakh to speak to develop this language.”

4:155 “It’s important for us because if we live in Kazakhstan we must know Kazakh language and in short we must know our native tongue.”

4:157 “I think that the role of Kazakh language in Kazakhstan is important first of all because as for every country for example in English it’s important I think to know, to know English and but nowadays the Kazakh language it takes its deserved role, it takes its own yes. Before it wasn’t but now it has taken its own role.”

4:164 “Russian language is um, the main language for me. It’s important because I talk on this language. I speak, write, read more in Russian...”

4:166 “...It’s just the language we speak. I think it’s important because we speak only Russian.”

4:169 “Yes. Because of your Kazakh blood that flows through your veins.”

4:172 “I can say if I can’t speak, I will say that I am Kazakh because I am proud of my nation.”

4:176 “I don’t think so. I think that if he is Kazakh he must know his language, his customs, his traditions, but if he doesn’t know his language, his traditions I think that he’s not a Kazakh.”

- “*Who is he then?*”

- “A Kazakh but not a pure-blooded one.”

4:177 “I think it will be um, difficult to understand the Kazakh inside world not knowing the language...so I think any people will not feel as their nation if they do not know their language.”

4:180 “I don’t think you’re worth calling Kazakh if you don’t know your native language.”

4:183 “Maybe yes, because my father is Russian, therefore would I be in a foreign country being Russian person I uh, called myself Russian.”

4:185 “If he doesn’t speak Russian it means he was born in some other country and lives there. It seems to me, I, these Russians are losing themselves, in these specific situations. Those who go abroad become like that population. Maybe they retain some customs in food there ...but they become more like the population.”

Chapter 5

5:3 “More pride in Kazakhstan, because now it’s an independent country.”

5:6 “It is always, um, pleasant to hear that my country is independent, we are young and we have like independence only during 14 years maybe, so we have a lot of problems with this but like it’s just the beginning. I like more Kazakhstan than Soviet Union.”

5:13 “Everything makes me proud that I am Kazakh and Kazakhstani, I am proud of me, that I am part of this country.”

5:15 “We can say our Kazakhstan is independent.”

5:16 “We don’t depend on other countries, um, we have our, we have our law, we have our, we have our constitution, so, we have our own system of education.”

5:19 “it’s my people, I was born here.”

5:20 “Yes I am proud of being a citizen of Kazakhstan because I have lived here from my birth.”

5:23 “People who live in Kazakhstan, I’ve just been in Russia and can compare, all the same in the relationship between them, their hospitality, they are a lot warmer towards people and more sociable.”

5:24 “I think people may differ only in their culture, mentality because of the conditions in where they live. So the surrounding, the condition er, influence on the mentality.”

5:25 “Uh, different people, Russian, Kazak, and um it seems to me, um people of Kazakhstan live like in big unity. This country um, how to say...unites, yes unites them – Uzbek, Kazakh, Ukraines, different nationalities. Um, they live uh, together for a long time on this land uh, so um, they have friendship.”

5:32 “I really love sport and if, I dream it’s of competitions, if I were to win there, to take part, been involved, when I see on television when Kazakhstan wins, wins, I don’t know, I even cry for joy.

5:38 “in general people, Kazakhstani people, they are all friendly, not like in other countries”

5:44 “Russian here are different from Russian in, in Russia. Yes, we are very different... In behaviour, in the way of speaking yes. Here we are, we are, I think we are more polite we are like Kazakh but in Russia they people I think are rude are very maybe... not friendly, aggressive maybe, yes I think so.”

5:47 “Maybe we are more friendly than if you take even Russia, if you are there, sometimes you can have big problems, especially with the skin as I have um, with the same eyes... Yeah, they have racism and maybe if you know skinheads, this like small sects... but here like now we don’t have it.”

5:54 “we were in Russian power and they made us to speak in Russian and closed our Kazakh schools.”

5:55 “...in the time of the Soviet Union we lost our culture, traditions and language.”

5:63 “they’re a kind people, good, people here don’t throw anyone out, [they’re] hospitable.”

5:70 “I think that in our country, it’s a multinational country, in our country I think that all people are happy, we have a democratic republic.”

5:71 “There are a lot of nationalities but they are all I think common, like very polite um, very friendly I think so, they don, they don’t show any um, discrimination like, discrimination towards other nationalities. So we are very friendly”

5:72 “In our country lives many nationalities and they teach each other, they keep relationships very good.”

5:77 “Kazakh must be the national language and Russian the international language.”

5:84 “I live in Kazakhstan, I should be proud of it. We don’t have wars here.”

5:85 “[I am proud] that Kazakhstan respects all peoples and other countries”

5:90 “I am proud because our country that’s up developed very quickly ‘cos in comparison with other, like Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, we really higher and our president, I really like him because he’s very different.”

5:91 “We have a very good and very clever president, we are waiting from future very good things.”

5:95 “In the period of the Soviet Union Kazakhstan was at a very low level among the Soviet countries but at the present time, yes, naturally it’s a developing country, but the economic level is higher than the other post-Soviet countries.”

5:96 “at the moment, our country, our republic, in recent years we’ve been improving quickly, the economy of our country is developing. I’m proud of this, that it is blessed... we have freedom of speech, freedom of everything, a person can live as he likes.”

5:97 “Kazakhstan has begun to take more care over how to be economically independent, how to be, it plays a big role in the improvement of the economy and culture in these directions.”

5:99 “[I am ashamed] because of cases of injustice in the courts and other structures of our government.”

5:100 “As for education, I think that education in Kazakhstan um, is not so good as in Russia... the way of living in Kazakhstan some years ago was difficult for people and a lot of teachers they had to go to the markets to sell different things, and to earn money dif, different ways, er, so uh, they, teachers I mean, they didn’t think about education and how to teach and they just thought about how to live, how to survive in difficult situations and um, that’s why we have, um, some people, young people who are not so educated... and some of those uh, pupils from school they entered universities so... their knowledge was not so good. They were not so good students. That’s why it’s difficult to teach them because the same situation was um, with the teachers of university...and we have now um, bad students and every year we have students which, whose knowledge, is weaker and weaker.”

5:101 “[What makes me ashamed is] bribes, yeah, and also medical system. Yeah, it’s not in an advanced level I mean.”

5:105 “The land is very rich and big. The government, the land itself, everything is very good.”

5:106 “Yes [I am proud], we have big territory, we have our independence.”

5:107 “We don’t depend on other countries and er, and er, we have own laws and um we can sell our oil and other, um, precious things.”

5:108 “First [I am proud] I live in independent country and we have large territories.”

5:112 “[I am proud] that I live in this country, it’s my native land.”

5:113 “I live here, I should like, it’s my native country and, I can’t live here without being proud of it.”

Chapter 6

6:6 “the Kazakh language is our native tongue, we must know it.”

6:17 “because in future I want to speak...the Russian language because I am from village and... there are no qualified teachers, they are lower than city’s teachers”

“The quality of education is lower in the village?”

“Yes, of course.”

6:18 “because all books and so on for English are in Russian.”

6:21 “They promised us when I um fill in application, they promised that there will be Kazakh group and I um trust them and when I came for the first day for our class there not, there were not Kazakh groups... I asked them why we have this, we had Russian teacher they... can’t found Kazakh teachers... so the first year was difficult for me because I studied 10 years Kazakh, in Kazakh school and so studying Russian for example, this philosophy, this everything was so my, so difficult for me, but by time, yes, got used.”

6:30 “We usually use Kazakh at home, we communicate in Kazakh and in the street, with friends, at university, in Russian.”

6:31 “Kazakh, it’s my language which I use in family, with my friends and out of university.”

6:32 “I use Russian when I speak with my friends and I speak in Kazakh when I home with my parents.”

6:35 “I use Kazakh at home, among my friends and when I saw Russian I speak in Russian. For example when I enter this shop, when I see shop assistant Russian person, I speak with him Russian.”

6:36 “When I talk with Kazakh I speak in Kazakh, when I with Russian I speak in Russian.”

6:39 “It depends on my surrounding people, when I speak with my relatives, my family, my mum, dad, I speak Kazakh, when I speak with my husband, I speak Russian. I’m trying to teach him Russian *chtoby on ne zabyt, ne znaiu* [so that he doesn’t forget it, I don’t know], we use both languages.”

6:40 “I speak in Kazakh in my life more than in Russian. If my partner is or can’t understand in Kazakh I speak to him in Russian.”

6:41 “If people understand the Kazakh language I speak Kazakh, if they understand Russian, then in Russian.”

6:52 “I feel even um, sometimes I am stopping and thinking in what language I am thinking and in what language I am speaking. Because I do not even feel in what language I am speaking or thinking. When I stop and think about it um, I feel that sometimes I think in Russian, mostly, mostly and sometimes in Russian, in Kazakh language yes. And so speaking as well.”

6:57 “Yes, almost all the time.”

6:66 “Yes... I do it when I can’t find the proper word in Kazakh so I put Russian one. It just because of the lack of vocabulary.”

6:67 “Sometimes. When I am speaking to Russian people, sometimes I mix the Kazakh language.”

6:68 “Yes, sometimes. When can’t remember or don’t know word in Kazakh.”

6:69 “Some words. For example such as, ‘*koroche*’ [‘in short’] and such words... Sometimes when I speak, for example, even when I teach... this Kazakh group I sometimes use such words, but I try uh, to translate it in Kazakh.”

6:74 “Sometimes yes. When I don’t know for example language the proper, an appropriate word.”

6:78 “For me it doesn’t really matter. Yeah, ‘cos we just used, I am used to use bilingualism.”

6:90 “...it’s not strict to say if you’re Russian you should speak pure Russian and that’s all, and not other things here and there. You need to speak this language or that language.”

6:94 “It is bad. It spoils the language.”

6:100 “[It is] bad. Because I am Kazakh I must speak Kazakh.”

6:107 “No, it’s his own personal business, which, whichever language is simpler for him, he’ll study in.”

6:126 “For example, if I speak about myself, when I uh, um, entered to, enter Uzbek class, I became more shy. Yeah and we, I changed some even traditions in my home. For example, before, we got to use, Ok we got to say to with my parents saying like ‘you’, which means ‘ty’, but when I enter Uzbek class, I started speaking with my parents like ‘you’, formal, like ‘vy.’”

6:131 “You become similar to the society you’re a part of.”

6:132 “Yes, of course. Yes, because I have many friends, they are Kazakh but they studied at the Russian schools and they... have a different character compare with me. Sometimes I notice that mm, they also have some characters as Russian people.”

6:133 “Yes. Because of the society that’s around him, the society can affect and influence him or her and make him... like more Russianised... and the character of that child can be turned to another direction because of the society and the friends that are around him and what he sees everyday.”

6:135 “Yes. Every nationality have their own character... and when...you will be among this people the character will affect for each other.”

6:141 “It has changed my character in some spheres – studying in Russian, in Russian group I now, I am able to say what I think... not as in Kazakh group, I can behaviour myself what I ca, I want, freely.”

6:145 “Of course Russian, Kazakh, and it is preferable to know uh, English language because of relations with foreign partners in dif, dif, different spheres.”

6:146 “The more he knows, the better it. Russian, I think because Russian and Kazakh and English they are equal because nowadays I mean the requirements of job is to know three languages.”

6:149 “Kazakh and English in many cases because nowadays it’s like in advertisements... and of course uh, like computer skills.”

6:152 “Kazakh because it’s where I live and English because they are also demanding more that you know a foreign language.”

6:162 “Russian... Most people accept that south Kazakhstan speaks in Russian.”

6:166 “Kazakh... It’s the national language.”

6:167 “The most important is uh, Kazakh... it is the Republic of Kazakhstan it demands uh, people to know Kazakh.”

6:168 “Kazakh...our law is written in Kazakh language and... documents, state documents, not only in the sphere of policy and economy but also in the sphere of education.”

6:172 “Everywhere in the world English is used, so I need to know it.”

6:179 “I think Kazakh language is better for business. Maybe Kazakh and foreign languages... Because in future everything, every business, documents in Kazakh.”

6:183 “Russian, because everyone speaks in Russian and most documents are in Russian.”

6:185 “Russian or English, because of the terminology.”

6:192 “For law, it’s the main Kazakh. Because it’s the law, our Kazakhstan’s law and the main must be Kazakh language for law.”

6:193 “Kazakh, because the official language is Kazakh.”

6:197 “For myself Kazakh is better because I can understand it. Maybe for others Russian.”

6:198 “It depends on the person.”

6:201 “Kazakh. Because it’s Kazakhstan.”

6:205 “Russian, because maybe it’s only my opinion, I’ve read a lot of Russian classics, but I really like how you can describe things in Russian.”

6:208 “Russian. Because we still have many books in Russian.”

6:212 “Kazakh, it’s Kazakhstan.”

6:221 “Russian. Phrases good in Russian.”

6:225 “Russian is more suitable because it’s easily understandable.”

6:233 “Russian... in circle of friends we just speak Russian to tell anecdotes. I don’t know why but we only use Russian to tell anecdotes, maybe we don’t know them in Uzbek or in Kazakh.”

6:234 “I think Russian... Russian is funnier.”

6:237 “Kazakh. Kazakh jokes are very good.”

6:240 “There must be choice. Because we live in free country, independent country so we are free in our opinions.”

6:256 “Kazakh. Because it’s Kazakhstan and it should take pride in it.”

6:263 “I like the Kazakh language in songs, it’s more, it’s more softly maybe, softer than in speech.”

6:267 “I am living in Kazakhstan and I am Kazakh and so it’s the main, most important, it’s necessary.”

6:271 “All books are in Russian. It gives us more knowledge.”

6:272 “It’s good because all people... of our country use Russian language and some documents also, books, they are in Russian.”

6:276 “If we know English language we can go to foreign countries, buy a car, do business.”

6:280 “People who are from villages, from countryside, they use Kazakh.”

6:291 “Yes... Old people who try to, to protect maybe their, their native language, their culture and refuse to speak Russian, like, ‘You should understand me, I will speak to you in Kazakh.’”

6:300 “Russian people.”

6:307 “A lot. The people who don’t like their language, some Kazakhs, if they’re Russians they’d speak it, some Kazakhs don’t like their native language.”

6:308 “Yes. For example, I have an acquaintance. She’s a Kazakh but she speaks with an accent in Kazakh so she’s just shy and doesn’t speak it.”

6: 317 “Active people from age 18 to 30 because it’s when they start to work and need English.”

6:318 “Educated people.”

Chapter 7

7:1 “steppe knights, as a rule, combined in themselves many military, political, diplomatic and by no means least of all, artistic talents and, with equal success could debate important social-political problems and, with heartfelt lyricism express their observations about nature and society and give eloquent speeches in forums both large and small and, with a spear in hand, lead warfare.”¹
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:2 “Today, when we have made it as a state and on the path to the establishment of our independence, put into practice a Strategy for the development of the country up to 2030 – a strategy for the founding of the nation, for patriotic ideas... the mobilizing call of the poetry of Makhambet is topical for us as never before... In thinking about the fate of our native land and the future of the country we will turn our gaze again and again to the great poetic flights of Makhambet in order to quench our spiritual thirst [and] check our path.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

¹ See Appendix E for quotes in original Russian

7:3 “Today for every citizen, be he a poet or an administrator, there is no task higher or more noble than to live with the problems of a simple people and to care about the security and prosperity of the country. Therefore now, when we have in our hands the Freedom about which thousands of patriots dreamed for centuries, we cannot for a moment forget that our greatest treasure and final aim is healthy and indefatigable self-improvement aspiring to the very best moral spirit of the nation. Only a highly moral person with a clear conscience and a responsive heart can be a true patriot of the homeland. In this vein, the work of Makhambet infused with the magical force of the poetry of Kultegin, the untiring devotion of the lyrical chronicles of Kaztugan and the profound military-philosophical reflections of Dosmanbet will remain for all time for us as an inexhaustible mine of folk wisdom, an inextinguishable life-giving spring for the national spirit.”

“To see the phenomenon of Makhambet through the prism of universal ideals and values – is an excellent opportunity to get to know Kazakhstan better, to study more determinedly the complex history of our people, to understand more deeply the mysteries of the Kazakh soul”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:4 “Up to now there is not a single acceptable textbook of the recent history of Kazakhstan. The dramatic events of our independence and our struggle to strengthen it have not become a subject of study. And we need to bring children up in this, to show the value of the experience of friendship, and of international and inter-confessional accord and to show the uniqueness of our state, emphasised the President.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране — качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:8 “Soon the whole community of Kazakhstan will mark 10 years since the day when the constitution of the independent republic was accepted. The main law of the country has, for all these years, been a reliable guarantor of the progress of the state. A significant place in it is devoted to the development of languages. As is written in the law, ‘it is the duty of every citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan to know the state language which is an important factor in the consolidation of the peoples of Kazakhstan’.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005).

7:16 “Isatay and Makhambet dreamt about the freedom and independence of their country, about unity and solidarity and today we, their descendents, admire the spirit of the great freedom fighters and our duty before our ancestors and before our children – is to always hold high the banner of freedom”

“In actual fact, it is precisely thanks to the indomitable, ineradicable love for freedom and the stoical character of the Kazakh people coming from the ancestry of the ancient Turks, that it was able to stand up to the catastrophes of history, not to disappear from the face of the earth, to preserve its territorial and national wealth

and, most importantly its national face and dignity. This character was tempered in the fire of numerous uprisings and endless resistance. This was a love soaked in the blood of staunch fighters bringing themselves as a sacrifice in the name of the Fatherland.”

“Now, we can say with confidence: yes, today the great dream, for which our great ancestor Makhambet lived and fought has come true. His people has got rid of the fetters of slavery and become the fully empowered master of its own fate and has started to live a free and creative life without war or confrontation...their territory and natural riches are open for people and serve the well-being of all who live and labour on this land.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:17 “Numerous epic historians, Kazakh poet singers, musicians, story-tellers and simple steppe-dwellers from century to century extolled the exploits of their ancestors. All this couldn’t but settle in the memory of generations... the simple people made their own heroes from the people. Thus, the previous epoch accomplished a great work in order that every steppe-dweller would be filled with love for his ancestors and his roots.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты герой нашего времени? 28/10/2005).

7:19 “In whatever corner of the boundless Kazakh steppe you saw a barrow or imperceptible hillock, from all around you would be revealed evidence of the past. The people is an impartial judge and just this people in its time, having appreciated the worth of Makhambet gave the movement under the leadership of Isatay and Makhambet a meaning of immense historical significance and great political importance. For this reason it is not right to present and examine the history of a people and the history of its great heroic individuals in separation from each other. And this means that, having conferred high international status on the anniversary of Makhambet there stands as a fact the worldwide recognition and deep respect which the world association gives to the ancient Kazakh people and to our young but none-the-less real state – a spirit of trust, of genuine interest and bright hope which mankind links with our country.”

“It is far from an accident that I have focussed attention on the great significance and deep meaning we have invested in taking to a world level the anniversaries of such giants of the spirit of the people as Abai, Zhambul, Mukhtar Ayezob and other famous citizens... Having left an indelible mark on the homeland’s history they are dear to us, first of all because each one of them, having gathered the resolve to go against the flow of the age and raised their heads to meet the destructive wind of the times, was able to become the conscience of the nation, an expression of the hopes and expectations of the people and to the end remain a defender of the national interests. Such as these remain forever in the people’s memory. We are obligated to imprint the images of such as these in the consciousness of the young and future generations... None of us has the right to forget them. In the name of which, in order to preserve an unclouded historical memory, and in order to preserve the moral-

aesthetic health of the nation, our holy duty is to do all that lies in our power for this.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:22 “Many articles, programmes, meetings and conferences have been and will in future be devoted to the problem of the introduction of the state language. This question has been discussed for more than ten years at a great many levels. True, judgements and suggestions with regard to the state language at the moment wear a very emotional character. And you won’t get far on emotion. Frequently slogans predominate here... But all of us, not just scientists, journalists and officials, but society as a whole, have realised that national policy and as part of that, language policy, has its own particularities in each state. Kazakhstan has its own historical traditions. Within that Kazakhstan was part of the Soviet Union for a relatively long period where a historically motivated language policy was conducted, and to overcome the resulting tendencies in a short period of time is a very complicated proposal. This is shown in the experience of many other states.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский язык – твой, мой, наш, 16/12/2003).

7:23 “They say now that after the war there was a policy of Russification when they began to shut Kazakh schools. This is true, but it isn’t all. In my view, the biggest part of the blame for the present position of the Kazakh language lies with the Kazakhs themselves who didn’t see any prospects in their native language and wanted their children to study in the Russian language. I, at least, have formed the impression that Kazakh schools were closed not because such was the order from Moscow, but because Kazakh parents removed their children to Russian schools.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04).

7:25 “The Russian language is not the enemy of the other national languages of the peoples of the countries of the Commonwealth, but a friend and ally. The national languages of the peoples of the states of the CIS are great languages. There is outstanding classical and contemporary literature in them. Each of them has enriched the lexicon of the contemporary Russian language. Their potential opportunities are inexhaustible. However, artificial attempts to oppose the national languages and the Russian language, ousting the latter from various spheres of public life, are futile. The fact remains that the Russian language has exerted and continues to exert a beneficial influence on the spiritual development of the peoples of the states of the post-Soviet space. The Russian language remains the language of high culture, an information channel between the countries of the CIS and also between them and the international community.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Объединяющее слово, 15/09/2004).

7:26 “It is not by accident then that ... so many songs and poems about Russia, about friendship and brotherhood of the peoples, about the strength and attractiveness of the Russian word were heard. And it is not by accident that so many school pupils took part in the concert. Moreover, they weren’t just from Russian schools but from Kazakh ones too.

...Verses of Kazakh poets declaring their love for the Russian language in the heartfelt delivery of...the older classes couldn't leave the public unmoved.”
(*Ekspress-K*, Я русский бы выучил только за то..., 27/05/2004).

7:27 “The book shows, with what great love the foremost Russian and European scholars related to the Kazakh people, its rituals, customs and language and how carefully and tremulously they preserved the immortal examples of Kazakh oral literature for descendents... Most interesting of all is the view of the Russian on nomadic culture. The first recordings in the Russian language at that time of the Kazakh folk tales, omens, beliefs, good-wishes, curses, lyrical songs and poetry contests cannot fail to provoke readers' interest as they are now placed in this book... The year of Russia in Kazakhstan is marked by the invisible presence of the beneficial role of the first scholars and travellers who, having trodden this Kazakh land in the distant past, fell in love with it.”
(*Ekspress-K*, Эти блестящие блестящие “Образцы...”, 01/10/2004).

7:29 “I will say at once that I don't see Russian as any kind of barrier to fully mastering Kazakh. The fact is that today out of the peoples of Central Asia Kazakhs know Russian the best of all but are the worst of all at knowing their own language. In other countries they can be proud of the better knowledge of their language but the level of knowledge of Russian has fallen, and fallen substantially. I am sure that this is not the best route to progress. In Kazakhstan we need to draw from this the conclusion that we should attain a good knowledge of our native language whilst preserving an excellent knowledge of Russian as a recognized world language and add to this English as the most important world language.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04).

7:30 “The striving of the countries which are members of the CIS to widen their connections with the international community also promotes an acknowledgement of the advantage of knowing Russian as a language of international cooperation.
...The existence of the Russian language in the territories of the countries of the CIS presents a particular opportunity for national-Russian and Russian-national bi- and multilingualism and a balanced use of the state and Russian languages in the spheres of education, mass information and official-business relations. To preserve and support the Russian language and culture in the territories of the CIS is our common task, the beneficial consequences of which are hard to over-estimate.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Объединяющее слово 15/09/2004).

7:31 “N. Nazarbaev noted that the state would undertake serious efforts for the development of other languages, especially Russian and English: It is possible it is even necessary to increase the number of hours of teaching of these languages. There is nothing bad in our children growing up multilingual, he concluded.”
(*Liter*, ‘Образованных посадят в калошу’, 13/10/2004).

7:34 “It is necessary to widen the sphere of use of the state language, implementing it in the post service, on public transport and in the spheres of communications, trade and healthcare.

Unfortunately, many measures for the development of the state language become a formality. In the majority of organisations and businesses documents are drawn up in the Kazakh and Russian languages. There are translators on the staff, and here and there, even whole departments of translators. On paper all is carried out smoothly and the examining body, as a rule, don’t find fault with anything. In practice, the Kazakh language documents arise as a result of translation from the Russian text. Orders and instructions in businesses and organisations are not developed, not used in practice and exist at the level of translations, they are filed in folders and, after a lapse of time, surrendered to the archives.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово... 25/03/2004).

7:35 “It is a sufficient period of time that every intelligent person should be penetrated by a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the state language...”

“In the past Kazakh occupied second place after Russian, today it has slipped to third place, in that English has become one of the dominant languages on the sovereign territory of Kazakhstan...”

“If the airwaves and the screens create a monolingual atmosphere then the bureaucratic forces quietly rejoice that for the present nobody is disturbing them on the subject of knowledge of the state language. Brief meetings, office chats, planning sessions, gatherings, meetings, briefings, press-conferences, ‘round tables’, meetings of the Parliament and Senate, negotiations and cultural get-togethers all happen in Russian. Only the occasional anniversary celebration reminds us that all the same we are Kazakhs and the better half of our compatriots live, not just anywhere, but in Kazakhstan... In a word, in the information space and in all spheres of activity the Russian language rules absolutely.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Где ты, казахская волна? 13/12/2003)

7:37 “This question [of the protection and promotion of the language] can’t leave anyone unaffected. In all civilised countries the state language has the required status. As concerns our citizens, a serious demand for the study of the Kazakh language needs to emerge. For example, for acceptance into the civil service it would not be unnecessary to demand knowledge of Kazakh. In the course of promotion up the service ladder it is necessary to pay attention to the ability of a given worker to communicate and conduct documentation in the state language.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Импульс развитию языка, 20/03/2005).

7:39 “That is one more particular about our constitution: it provides ‘favourable conditions for the development not just of the state language, but also of the languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan as a whole’. Representatives of more than forty nationalities live in Atirau oblast... Answers to citizens’ applications are given in the language of address. The local executive bodies assist the national diasporas with the study of their national language, culture, customs and traditions. Every year

festivals of the languages of the peoples of Kazakhstan are held, where every national-cultural centre marks the celebrations of its peoples and where you can hear Bashkiri, German, Ukrainian, Korean, Chechen and Georgian spoken by native speakers.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005).

7:43 “Let me say that national security and internal stability in a multi-national and multi-confessional state remain important priorities as long as such a state exists. In the management of the republic there must always be a platform for the association of all peoples.”

(*Liter*, Наша программа – не догма, 12/10/2005).

7:46 “We are filled with optimism for stability, peace, accord and creativity: the size of pensions are growing, the size of salaries is increasing. In the speed, volume and quality of socio-economic reform, improvements to the political system and the democratisation of the state and society, Kazakhstan is one of the leaders in the C.I.S. The republic is widely recognised in the world and its international authority grows from day to day. A solid foundation for our independent statehood has been laid. The spiritual self-awareness of Kazakhstanis is being strengthened and developed.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:48 “One of the tasks which is a priority for Kazakhstan for the strengthening of an open economy and its modernisation, is entry into the World Trade Organisation. The negotiation process for entry into the W.T.O. is going at full speed...”

(*Liter*, Welcome, инвестиции! 15/06/2005).

7:51 “First of all, [the electoral reforms] have occurred against a background of general liberalisation of the political system. They are being conducted systematically, on the basis of the integrated resolution of the task of social development. For this every new stage of political reform is closely tied to the level of development of the economy, of civil society, of the political and legal culture of the population. Only in this way can the country get through this difficult period successfully, build a modern society and become a natural part of the global world, said the Head of state.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:52 “Characterising the development of education in the country, the President noted that Kazakhstan has reached a new stage of development where many tasks in all areas of life are able to be addressed and among these are education and science. The growth of the country’s economy demands not just financial investment. To a large degree it is provided for by human factors, intellectual investment.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:53 “Speaking about the tasks of science, it is necessary to comprehend clearly that Kazakhstan cannot preserve its scientific potential without a link to the national economy, and the economy cannot become competitive without the support of science. In the modern world there has been an acknowledgement that the economic success of states is determined by their systems of education and the degree of education of their citizens.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:57 “The development of education and the sciences is a political and national task. It is precisely for this reason that it cannot be fulfilled by being a departmental project. In connection with this the President has set the mission of developing a new state programme of education, the status of which is widely discussed in Kazakhstani society.

The tasks set are serious, much must be done quickly, in an orderly way and, importantly, effectively. The preparatory stage for the realisation of the state-programme has been carried out. In recent years the finance budgeted for education and the sciences has increased significantly. Thus, if in the present year it consists of one hundred and ninety-two billion, then next year it is planned to increase it to two hundred and fifty billion tenge”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:58 “...the domestic system of education has turned out to be incapable of adapting to contemporary economic conditions. In the sphere of education a bloc of problems with the system have appeared which the government has tried to solve for a period of ten years by carrying out modernisation of separate segments of the educational system. The independence of educational establishments of all levels has increased, their rights have expanded in the choice of a curriculum, of textbooks and methods of teaching... a new type of educational organisation has arisen, the non-state sector of education has been founded.

But all this has yet to lead to the attainment of the foundational aim, noted the Head of state.

Firstly, the measures taken have not provided for a rise in the quality of education. ...the steps taken have not led to the adaptation of the domestic system of education to an international educational standard.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:59 “The gathering has ended. Of course it is not possible to discuss absolutely everything in a short time, and such an aim has not been pursued, the main thing is that teachers and academics feel that the state is placing the development of education and the sciences amongst its main priorities.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:60 “In five new schools teaching will be conducted in the state language. Incidentally, in the words of the vice-minister, there is a tendency towards an

increase in the number attending schools where the main language of instruction is Kazakh. Such that 58 percent of reception class pupils are going to Kazakh schools. As a whole in the republic linguistic parity is preserved: 1 million 600 thousand school pupils study in the state language and 1 million 200 thousand study in other national languages, in which number Russian is included.

The mass introduction of technology to educational establishments is continuing: 65 percent of schools (of which 57 percent are rural) today have a telephone line, 44 percent of schools are already connected to the Internet. Thirty-one technical vocational schools and 25 colleges are computerised. Seven hundred and seventeen small schools in remote villages are connected to satellite channels and the Internet. Alas, despite the visible activity of educational workers it is impossible to consider the campaign for introducing technology as completed. At the acknowledgement of the vice-minister, 'today there is one computer for every 54 pupils'." (*Ekspress-K*, Первый звонок, 26/08/2004).

7:61 "I have seen these pearls and pseudo-discoveries with my own eyes- said N. Nazarbaev, and quoted aloud several obvious blunders which provoked applause from the teachers:

...A textbook of the history of ancient Kazakhstan considers that every year 6 pupil must know the construction of 29 burial mounds and remember their dimensions. Why?! Especially 'admirable' is the assertion that an arrow from a *sak* had deadly force at a distance of 800 metres. Not every modern weapon could reach such a distance. Reading the history textbooks you will be truly surprised at how the authors transform unfounded legends into historical facts. Such falsifications won't make school pupils into patriots of the country who will be proud of their history... Don't joke with history... It is difficult to learn from a textbook in which there is not only abnormal didactic material but also a mass of factual and stylistic mistakes.

...[T]he head of state was distressed that to this time not one decent textbook of the recent history of Kazakhstan has been written."

(*Liter*, "Образованных" посадят в калошу, 13/10/2004).

7:62 "In all times and among all peoples the study of the foundations of the grammar, rhetoric and poetry begins with an introduction to the ethics and philosophy of the national language and the creative legacy of those who have historical merit in the study, development and propaganda of the given language. Such came to be for the Russian language such indisputable authorities as Lomonosov, Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Bunin and a great number more of the first rank who shone.

What was my surprise when I saw that it turned out that the honour of a creative 'presentation' of the Russian language in the new academic year had been given to... no, not Pushkin and Bunin, and not even to Trediakovskom and Nekrasov, but to a certain A. Kypchishin, author of the new ode 'to the great and mighty' under the title 'Language of Accord'."

(*Liter*, О "безмольное" небо! 25/01/2005).

7:63 "The question of the fight with corruption has not escaped the attention of the alternative candidates. In particular, Eleysizov considers this fight an important task of all branches and organs of power...

Abilkasimov names the main direction of his anticorruption activity as among the highest responsibilities of the faces of state, *oblast* and city *akims*, leaders of the judiciary and power structures and national companies...

With regards to Baimenov and Tuyakbaya, they, without touching on the theme of the fight with corruption itself, at the same time suggest anti-corruption measures of a chiefly social-economic character within the framework of various of their programmed regulations.”

(*Liter*, Что предлагает казахстанцам «великолепная четверка»? 18/11/2005).

7:69 “The book shows, with what great love the foremost Russian and European scholars related to the Kazakh people, its rituals, customs and language and how carefully and tremulously they preserved the immortal examples of Kazakh oral literature for descendents... The year of Russia in Kazakhstan is marked by the invisible presence of the beneficial role of the first scholars and travellers who, having trodden this Kazakh land in the distant past, fell in love with it.”

(*Ekspress-K*, Эти блестящие блестящие “Образцы...”, 01/10/2004).

7:74 “As we see, the epoch of Makhambet, the XIX century, was a century of great and small anti-colonial uprisings and fights for the national interests which every now and then burst into flame in different corners of the Kazakh steppe...

It is known that in the epoch of colonialism there was open mass protest and the refusal to submit to the authorities did not disappear together with the fall of autocracy, but had a place too in the Soviet reality...”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:77 “ ‘Take vengeance for us, having loudly demanded Equality!’ once exclaimed our fathers, who in the dark nights of history spent their lives in the fight and ended them in the bitterness of hopelessness, also did not live to until the dawn of freedom. As if having heard this call of his ancestors, Makhambet appeared in the world as a son of the people, able to raise his rebellious head and his bold voice to the executioners and tormentors of his people, and defending the desecrated honour of his native land enter a clearly unequal fight...the arrow of Makhambet hit the target and the day came when his dream was realised. And therefore Makhambet did not disappear... together with his epoch, Makhambet is our contemporary.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

Chapter 8

8:4 “First of all Kazakhstanis very much want to find their place on this planet as a state and are doing everything possible towards this, in the economic sphere and in the political sphere alike... it’s now made the transition to deciding its own problems on a large scale and on the whole to building a very peaceful and to try to build a relationship, a peaceful relationship with all countries, with all elements of society.”

8:5 “Today there are already things to be proud of. Many Kazakhstanis when they communicate, I do myself, and when we communicate with colleagues or just with

inhabitants of Kyrgyzia there or of Moldova or Belorussia, we see that understanding of the questions of the process itself of economic development, the founding of the state and development there of democratic institutions we are a little in front and we are proud of that and we can, we are surprised let's say when Uzbek colleagues ask us questions which seem to us very naïve, we've already passed all that, already understand it all, because Kazakhstan is a little higher in development...

...in society in the last years the understanding has begun to mature that this state is definitely here, that it's the state of Kazakhstan with a state language which must be accepted...

If the state is to respect the national peculiarities of each people, then that people will truly relate to the state with respect."

8:6 "The main characteristics of a state identity? Well I think it's national power, it's patriotism, it's respect for your elders, that's very developed in Kazakhstan, it's hospitality, it's the openness of the country for all, we are open to the whole world and we are proud of that. We very much, our people, and all those who live here we call our people, regardless of nationality or ethnic group."

8:14 "In the Republic of Kazakhstan there is provision for the founding of pre-school organisations functioning in the state language, and in areas of compact habitation of national groups – in their languages.

The language of instruction and upbringing in children's homes and equivalent organisations is decided by local executive organs with reference to the national composition of their contingent.

The Republic of Kazakhstan provides for receiving primary, foundational secondary, general secondary, technical and professional, further, higher and postgraduate education in the state language, in Russian and where necessary and possible, in other languages. In educational organisations the state language and Russian language are compulsory subjects of study and are on the list of disciplines included in the document on education."

8:15 "The Republic of Kazakhstan provides for the functioning of the state language and other languages in printed output and the mass media.

With the aim of creating the necessary linguistic environment and the proper functioning of the state language the volume of programmes on television channels in the state language, regardless of their individual form, must not be less in time than the sum of the volume of programmes in other languages."

8:17 "Unfortunately here the mass media often don't fulfil that law. Well, we have a procurator who must oversee the fulfilment of the law, and there is a language committee which should control the fulfilment of the law on languages. I would like them to work more by principle but what the commercial structure is interested in is earning more money and sometimes they don't observe the law on languages, we know that, we know that. But if the authorities start to punish them, they start to shout that we don't have freedom of speech, that they are being forced et cetera, unfortunately that's what happens."

8:18 "...it doesn't work as we would have liked because there are watchable times as you know and unwatchable times and our mass media in some ways uses this to make things difficult"

8:24 "In Kazakhstan for instance, Kazakh schools... the programme of study was not equal with the Russian language ones, therefore... for instance my older daughter, when we received independence I sent her to a Kazakh school and it was very difficult, it was very difficult for her because the programme there wasn't good enough, there were no textbooks... I had to move her, after class five I sent her to a Russian school... the time will come when all children for instance, all Kazakhs will probably try to send their children to a Kazakh school. But today there is this problem so many of my friends of the same age, their children study in Russian schools to this day and my children study in a Russian school even though I too am maybe a patriot like, but I've understood that for children today in comparison [they] are given a better education by Russian schools."

8:25 "We don't yet have enough teachers who can teach subjects in Kazakh and we don't yet have enough textbooks."

8:26 "I know that now there are more Russian schools still. Before there were very few Kazakh schools, now this process is being equalised, evened out, but all the same there are still more Russian schools"

8:27 "We have, with the acquisition of independence, a special state programme for the production of textbooks, national textbooks. I spoke about how before our history was so to say, more oriented to the Communists and let's say even in ancient history they hardly wrote at all about those who fought for independence, that's the first thing. And secondly, for us everything was oriented towards Moscow we say, well Ru, it was about Russia so now we need to change the history, now there are changes in Kazakh literature, literature in general, many aspects are changing."

8:28 "Whereas before we studied the history of the USSR, history according to the USSR, now we've already tipped the other way, we pay a lot of attention to the history of Kazakhstan although we don't have good textbooks, here there is a problem I know"

8:36 "Well I can say that more than 100 nationalities live on the territory of our republic... I can answer you, they're friendly, so many nationalities live in peace and harmony... the aim of the Kazakh people, the state, the government [is] to live in peace and harmony."

8:37 "The people of Kazakhstan are a multinational people, 131 nationalities live in our Karaganda oblast. They are a friendly people, you know in Kazakhstan we have the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan, the chairman of the Assembly is our president. Similar to this assembly we have small assemblies in every region, every

oblast and the Akim of the oblast heads up the small assembly of the oblast. The people living in the oblast, 131 nationalities, are friendly peaceable.”

8:46 “Well we received our independence in ’91 and so at last Kazakh became the state language, our original culture began to develop... and if at first having the Kazakh language as the state language is a bit uncomfortable because many people don’t know Kazakh, now there is a great thrust as many of our children learn in kindergartens in Kazakh from an early age. That is, we are far from saying that Kazakhstan is for Kazakhs, we say that Kazakhstan is for Kazakhstanis, in light of this the people who will live here and work here must use the language of independence of the republic.”

8:47 “[The most important markers are] the language first and foremost. I would say probably traditions, history, culture, uh and probably the traditions of our ancestors.”

8:70 “That needs to be worked at. In general, how to put it? I understand that state identity is on the whole founded on some kind of state idea on an idea of state policy which united everyone, which sparked off and called up national pride and would cause an accompanying striving to identify oneself with this state.”

8:71 “Since the acquisition of independence, of course it was ’91, the people of Kazakhstan with every year become more and more sure and feel that the state cares about the people. There are many state programmes directed towards the well-being of the peoples living in Kazakhstan and for example every year the head of our state, our president reads out before the people a message laying out a task for the following year for the government and the government works on these questions which are reflected by the president in his message. As a rule these questions are all social plans, social directions for the improvement of the well-being of our people.”

8:77 “Well you know that society develops, it doesn’t stand still, that is foundational, from there, with the development of society, from there the state identity of the people living here also develops. With every year some kind of programmes are accepted and with every year problems are set and the people living in Kazakhstan solves these problems. It improves itself, enriches itself from year to year.”

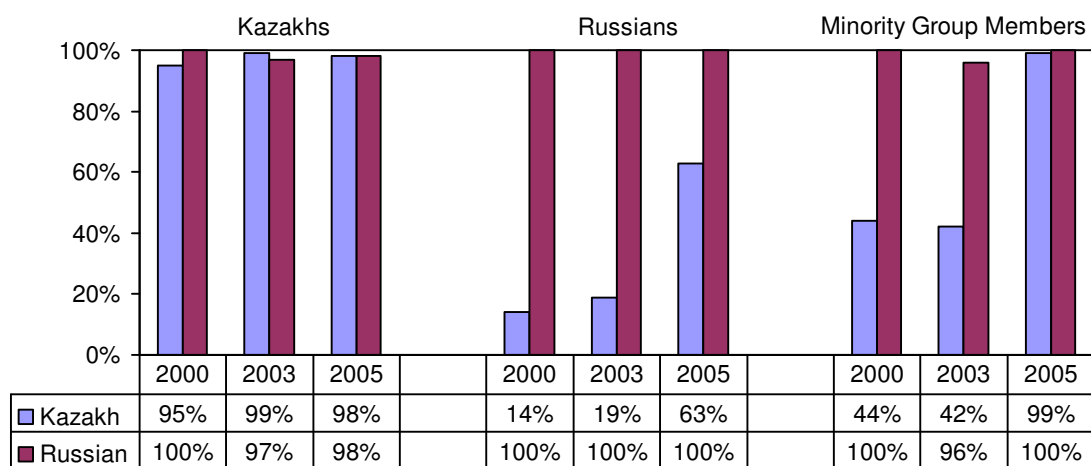
8:78 “The main characteristics of a state identity?... Many have suffered in this land, there are testing sites for everything possible, nuclear explosions, ecological disasters, therefore our people greatly love and value their land and are ready, as they say, to fight for it to protect it if that is necessary. But on the whole to emphasise that they make progress for their land, for their people.”

Appendix D: Change over Time

The present study follows two earlier pieces of research carried out in Shymkent. The first of these involved questionnaires on language use and was carried out in 1999-2000 as part of an undergraduate dissertation. The second was carried out as the data collection stage of an MSc. It also involved the use of questionnaires and was undertaken in 2003. The sample populations in these studies were similar to that of the present study as the vast majority of the questionnaires were completed by students attending local schools and universities and by those making use of facilities at an English language library and teaching centre. Both these studies also asked participants about their use of Kazakh and Russian. It is therefore possible to make a reasonable comparison over a period of five years of a sample student age population's competency in Russian and Kazakh. Although this time scale is not as great as could be wished it is nonetheless valid as an indication of stability or change of language use within the community.

As Figure 9.1 below shows the self reported use of Russian and Kazakh by Kazakh participants has remained very stable during the five years represented. Similarly all Russians and nearly all minority group members participating in the studies consistently report knowledge of Russian. However, both these groups, and particularly the ethnic Russians reported low levels of knowledge of Kazakh in the 2000 study, with a higher proportion of each group claiming some use of Kazakh in 2003 and higher proportions again doing so in 2005. It would seem from these figures that as time has passed since independence increasing numbers of Russians and ethnic minority groups are willing and, or able to learn Kazakh. Whether this is because a younger post-independence generation has less prejudice against Kazakh as a language, has more opportunities to learn it or because it is increasingly seen as necessary in the job market is not immediately clear but it is likely that all these factors play a part. What is clear is that the Kazakh language is now spoken by a much higher proportion of the population than was the case five years ago.

Figure 9.1: Ability to Speak Russian/ Kazakh by Year and Ethnic Group



Appendix E: Quotes in Original Russian

Chapter 6

6:309 “Действительно, я отказывался и отказываюсь выступать на казахском языке на телевидении, так как не владею языком свободно и не хочу, чтобы кто-то комментировал мое нечистое произношение...

Я... хочу показать, что постановка вопроса о том, что есть казахи, не знающие родного языка и которые не хотят его знать, абсолютно несостоятельная. Именно негативное отношение к этому процессу тех, кто знает язык, является главным тормозом.”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04).

Chapter 7

7:1 “степные рыцари, как правило, совмещали в себе множество ратных, политических, дипломатических и не в последнюю очередь художественных талантов, с равным успехом умели и дебатировать на важнейшие социально-политические проблемы, и с проникновенным лиризмом выражать свои наблюдения над природой и обществом, и держать ораторские речи на больших и малых форумах, и с копьем в руке предводительствовать воинству.”¹

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:2 “Сегодня, когда мы состоялись как государство и на пути утверждения своей независимости претворяем в жизнь Стратегию развития страны до 2030 года — стратегию созидания нации, патриотические идеи... мобилизующие призывы поэзии Махамбета актуальны для нас как никогда прежде... в мыслях о судьбах родной земли и будущности страны мы вновь и вновь будем устремлять взоры к высотам поэтического полета Махамбета, чтобы утолять духовную жажду, сверять свой путь.” (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:3 “Сегодня для каждого гражданина, будь то поэт или администратор, нет задачи превыше и благородней, чем жить проблемами простого народа и заботиться о безопасности и благополучии страны. Поэтому сейчас, когда в руках наших Свобода, о которой веками мечтали тысячи патриотов, ни на миг не смеем мы забывать, что наша самая высшая драгоценность и конечная цель — это здоровый и неустанно самосовершенствующийся, устремленный ко всему самому лучшему моральный дух нации. Только высоконравственный человек с чистой совестью и отзывчивым сердцем может быть истинным патриотом Родины. В этом смысле творчество Махамбета, настоящее на

¹ See Appendix E for translations of all quotes

магической силе поэзии Кюльтегина, неумолимом подвижничестве лирических летописей Казтугана, глубокомысленных военно-философских размышлениях Доспамбета, — на все времена остается для нас неисчерпаемым кладом народной мудрости, неиссякаемым животворным родником национального духа”.

“И взгляд на феномен Махамбета сквозь призму общечеловеческих идеалов и ценностей — прекрасная возможность еще ближе познакомиться с Казахстаном, еще пристальнее изучить непростую историю нашего народа, еще глубже познать тайны казахской души.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнущий дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:4 “До сих пор нет ни одного нормального учебника новейшей истории Казахстана. Драматические события нашей независимости и наша борьба за ее укрепление не стали предметом для изучения. А ведь на этом надо воспитывать детей, показывать ценность опыта дружбы, межнационального и межконфессионального согласия, показывать уникальность нашего государства, подчеркнул Президент.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране — качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:5 “Родной наш язык во все века был для казаха поднимающей, мобилизующей силой. «Язык отцов — наследие святое...», — писал наш великий земляк Магжан Жумабаев. Уверен, что таким пониманием значимости казахского языка, тем более в нашем суверенном, новом государстве, наполнены сердца не только поэтов, но и всех граждан Казахстана.”²
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Язык отцов — наследие святое, 27/09/05).

7:6 “А статус его очень высок. Он является главным среди государственных символов. Есть язык — есть народ. Нет носителей языка — нет и народа.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Где ты, казахская волна?, 13/12/2003).

7:7 “— Язык — это культурная ценность, душа народа, поэтому знать язык государства обязан каждый казахстанец.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обзор казахской прессы, 02/07/05).

7:8 “Скоро вся общественность Казахстана отметит десять лет со дня принятия Конституции независимой республики. Главный закон страны все эти годы является надежным гарантом поступательного развития государства. Немаловажное место в нем уделяется развитию языков. Как написано в законе, «долгом каждого гражданина Республики Казахстан является овладение государственным языком, являющимся важнейшим фактором консолидации народов Казахстана»”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005).

² See Appendix E for translations of all quotes.

7:9 “За последние годы произошло очень много изменений в отношении государственного языка, его внедрения, но главное в том, что изменилась психология граждан Казахстана, независимо от их национальной принадлежности. Подавляющее большинство понимает, что независимость государства определяется не только самостоятельным экономическим и политическим развитием, но еще и успешным развитием культуры и казахов, и представителей других этносов, живущих в республике.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский язык – твой, мой, наш, 16/12/2003).

7:10 “Наша полиэтническая страна по праву гордится тем, что в самые трудные годы становления государственности Казахстан сумел сохранить межнациональное согласие, дав миру, раздираемому этническими войнами, ошеломляющий пример. Хватило бы нам мудрости и дальше обойтись без перекосов, задевающих национальное самолюбие того или иного этноса, который, вместе с другими, составляет единое целое под названием «народ Казахстана»”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово, 25/03/2004).

7:11 “Абсолютно нет никаких межнациональных и языковых барьеров во взаимоотношениях, жива и здравствует традиция добрососедских отношений и межнационального согласия.”
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово, 25/03/2004).

7:12 “Языковое разнообразие в республике призвано стать узами, скрепляющими духовное единство, братство населяющих Казахстан народов. В русле языковой политики мы должны добиться того, чтобы человек любого роду-племени мог бы сказать носителю иного языка, перефразируя известную поговорку: «Язык твой — друг мой». И гарантом этого может стать наша Конституция, положения которой отвечают требованиям времени”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005).

7:13 “Выжить - потому что казахи очень тепло приняли переселенцев. В трудные послевоенные годы им помогали всем чем могли. Делили с ними дом, еду.”
(*Ekspress-K*, Формула единства, 05/05/2004).

7:14 “Когда я был ребенком, вместе с нашей семьей в одном доме жила семья турок, - вспоминает Омиргали Кенжебек. - Мы делили с ними кусок хлеба, одежду... Никогда мы даже детьми не делились на национальности. И в Советском Союзе, и тем более в независимом Казахстане мы живем одной братской семьей.”
(*Ekspress-K*, Формула единства, 05/05/2004).

7:15 “Главное в Казахстане сохранен мир, и все чувствуют себя равными и достойными гражданами страны.”
(*Liter*, За державу не обидно, 30/09/2005).

7:16 “Исатай и Махамбет мечтали о свободе и независимости своей страны, о единстве и солидарности, и сегодня мы, их потомки, преклоняемся перед духом великих борцов за свободу, и наш долг перед предками и перед детьми — всегда высоко держать знамя свободы”.

“В самом деле, именно благодаря своей неукротимой, неистребимой любви к свободе и стоическому характеру казахский народ, ведущий родословную от древних тюрков, сумел выстоять в катастрофах истории, не исчезнуть с лица земли, сохранить свои территориальные и национальные богатства, а главное — свое национальное лицо и достоинство. Этот характер закалялся в огне многочисленных восстаний и непрекращавшегося сопротивления. Эта любовь пропитана кровью негибаемых борцов, принесших себя в жертву во имя Отечества”.

“Теперь мы уверенно можем сказать: да, сегодня сбылась великая мечта, которой жил и боролся наш великий предок Махамбет. Его народ избавился от невольничьих оков и, став полновластным хозяином своей судьбы, зажил свободной созидательной жизнью без войн и конфронтаций... их территории и природные богатства открыты для людей и служат благосостоянию всех, кто живет и честно трудится на этой земле”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнущий дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:17 “Многочисленные жырау, акыны, серэ, сказители, простые степняки из века в век воспевали былые подвиги своих предков. Все это не могло не отложиться в памяти поколений.... простые люди подготовили собственных героев из народа. Итак, предыдущая эпоха проделала колоссальную работу, для того чтобы каждый степняк проникся любовью к своим предкам и своим корням”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты герой нашего времени?, 28/10/2005).

7:18 “Им не пояснили, что каждый язык неповторим и прекрасен, как прекрасен каждый цветок, каждая тварь, живущая на земле. Опытные языковеды не говорили им о том, что культура любого народа, его язык — это промысел Всевышнего, кирпичик мироздания, который составляет впечатляющую мозаику вселенной. Они понятия не имеют о том, что солью земли считаются не те, кто наворовал и пыжился, гордясь своими особняками, и не те, кто прочитал в жизни две книжки, зато собирает стадионы в результате хороших пиар-компаний... а те, кто обрел бессмертие, защищая с мечом в руке свой народ, родной язык и культуру”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты герой нашего времени?, 28/10/2005).

7:19 “В каком бы уголке бескрайней Казахской степи вы бы ни увидели курган или неприметный холмик, отовсюду вам откроются свидетельства прошлого. Народ — беспристрастный судья, и именно он, в свое время по достоинству оценив Махамбета, придал движению под руководством Исатая и Махамбета значение грандиозного исторического события большой политической важности. Вот почему историю народа и историю героических личностей мы

не вправе представлять и рассматривать в отрыве друг от друга. А это значит, что за присвоением юбилею³ Махамбета высокого международного статуса стоит факт всемирного признания и глубокого уважения, которое мировое сообщество питает к древнему казахскому народу и к нашему молодому, но уже состоявшемуся государству, — дух доверия, неподдельного интереса и светлых надежд, которые человечество связывает с нашей страной”.

“Я далеко не случайно заострил внимание на том, сколь большое значение и глубокий смысл были вложены нами в проведение на мировом уровне юбилеев таких исполинов народного духа, как Абай, Жамбыл, Мухтар Ауэзов и других не подлежащих забвению славных граждан Алаша. Оставившие неизгладимый след в отечественной истории, они дороги нам прежде всего потому, что каждый из них, набравшись решимости идти против течения эпохи и подняв голову навстречу разрушительным ветрам времени, сумел совестью нации, выразителем народных надежд и чаяний и до конца оставаться защитником национальных интересов. Таковыми они навечно остаются в народной памяти. Таковыми мы обязаны запечатлеть их образы в сознании поколений молодых и грядущих, которым предстоит полнокровно впитать несломленный дух предков и унаследовать собранное предшественниками в трудах и борьбе неисчерпаемое духовное наследие. Забывать их никто из нас не вправе. Во имя того, чтобы сохранить незамутненную историческую память, и ради того, чтобы сохранить нравственно-эстетическое здоровье нации, наш святой долг — делать для этого все, что в наших руках”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:20 “Национальные обычаи и традиционный уклад, религия, язык и менталитет — словом, все, что составляет честь и достоинство нации, было принесено в жертву лживым лозунгам о справедливом переустройстве мира и стало разменной монетой в нечистых играх коммунистических партocrats. Не измерить ущерб, который во времена бездумной антинародной политики был нанесен нашей благословенной земле, нашим городам и селениям, некогда послужившим колыбелью самобытной степной цивилизации. А сколько документальных и вещественных свидетельств седой старины, сколько памятников, реликвий и раритетов прошлого, сколько бесценных источников знания и веры упрятано с глаз, пропало без вести, а то и бесследно исчезло с лица земли?..”

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:21 “переехав в большой город, они осознали исключительную важность русского языка для карьеры и всю оставшуюся жизнь отдали его совершенствованию. Все эти годы типичные представители этого слоя казахской интеллигенции читали, писали и говорили на работе только по-русски, так как все их успехи в институте и потом на практической работе зависели от качества знания русского языка”.

³ The 200th anniversary of his birth

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04).

7:22 “Проблеме внедрения государственного языка посвящено и еще будет посвящаться немало статей, передач, совещаний, конференций. Этот вопрос обсуждается больше десяти лет на самых различных уровнях. Правда, рассуждения и предложения относительно государственного языка порой носят очень эмоциональный характер. А на эмоциях далеко не уедешь. Нередко преобладают здесь и лозунги... Но все мы, не только ученые, журналисты, чиновники, но и общество в целом, осознали, что национальная политика и составная ее часть — языковая политика в каждом государстве имеют свои особенности. У Казахстана собственные исторические традиции. К тому же достаточно длительный период Казахстан был в составе Советского Союза, где велась исторически мотивированная языковая политика, и за короткий период времени преодолеть сложившиеся тенденции, представления очень сложно. Это показывает и опыт многих других государств.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский язык – твой, мой, наш, 16/12/2003).

7:23 “Сейчас говорят, что в послевоенное время пошла политика русификации, стали закрывать казахские школы. Это правда, но не вся. На мой взгляд, большая часть вины с нынешним положением казахского языка лежит на самих казахах, которые не видели в родном языке перспективы и хотели, чтобы их дети учились на русском языке. У меня, по крайней мере, создалось впечатление, что казахские школы закрывали не потому, что был такой приказ из Москвы, а потому, что родители-казахи отдавали детей в русские школы”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04).

7:24 “Глава республики отметил, что багаж даже старой советской школы даст фору тем же Штатам, а потому не стоит отказываться от накопленного опыта в деле образования молодежи”.
(*Liter*, Высшее преОбразование, 08/09/05).

7:25 “Русский язык — не враг другим национальным языкам народов стран Содружества, а друг и союзник. Национальные языки народов государств СНГ — великие языки. На них существует выдающаяся классическая и современная литература. Каждый из них обогатил лексику современного русского языка. Их потенциальные возможности неисчерпаемы. Однако бесперспективны попытки искусственного противопоставления национальных языков и русского языка, вытеснения последнего из различных сфер общественной жизни. Остается фактом, что русский язык оказал и оказывает благотворное влияние на духовное развитие народов в государствах постсоветского пространства. Русский язык остается языком высокой культуры, информационным каналом между странами СНГ, а также между ними и мировым сообществом”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Объединяющее слово, 15/09/2004).

7:26 “Поэтому не случайно... звучало столько песен и стихов о России, о дружбе братских народов, о силе и притягательности русского слова. И не случайно столько школьников приняло участие в концерте. Причем не только из русских школ, но и из казахских.

... Стихи казахских поэтов, признающих в любви к русскому языку, в проникновенном исполнении... старшеклассников не могли оставить равнодушными публику”.

(*Ekspress-K*, Я русский бы выучил только за то..., 27/05/2004).

7:27 “Книга показывает, с какой большой любовью относились передовые русские и европейские ученые к казахскому народу, его обрядам, обычаям, языку, как бережно и трепетно сохраняли для потомков бессмертные образцы устной литературы казахов... Более всего интересен взгляд русского человека на кочевую культуру. Не могут не вызвать читательского интереса впервые записанные на русском языке еще в то время казахские народные сказки, приметы, поверья, благопожелания, проклинания, лирические песни и айтысы, ныне помещенные в книге.

...Год России в Казахстане отмечен невидимым присутствием благотворной роли первых ученых и путешественников, некогда ступивших на эту казахскую землю и полюбивших ее”.

(*Ekspress-K*, Эти блестящие блестящие “Образцы...”, 01/10/2004).

7:28 “Ведущий археолог страны Карл Байпаков рассказал об уникальных находках в городище Койлык, где были обнаружены руины храмов различных конфессий (мусульманских, христианских, буддийских) на территории древнего Казахстана в XI-XIII веках, свидетельствующие о гуманной, терпимой политике наших предков в духовном направлении”.

(*Liter*, Что имеем – сохраним! 28/01/05).

7:29 “Сразу скажу, что не вижу в русском языке какой-либо преграды к полному освоению казахского языка. Факт на сегодня в том, что из сех народов Центральной Азии казахи лучше всех знают русский язык, но хуже всех владеют родным. В других странах могут гордиться лучшим знанием своего языка, но уровень знания русского упал и очень существенно. Уверен, это не самый лучший путь для прогресса. В Казахстане нам надо сделать из этого вывод и достичь хорошего знания родного языка, сохраняя отличное знание русского как одного из признанных мировых языков, и добавить к этому английский как самый важный мировой язык”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский бы выучил, 14/05/04).

7:30 “Стремление стран — участниц СНГ расширить связи с международным сообществом также способствует осознанию преимущества владения русским как языком международного сотрудничества.

...Существование русского языка на территории стран СНГ представляет собой особый случай национально-русского и русско-национального двуязычия и многоязычия, сбалансированного применения государственного и русского языков в сферах образования, массовой информации, официально-делового общения. Сохранить и поддержать русский язык и культуру на территории СНГ — наша общая задача, благотворные последствия которой трудно переоценить”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Объединяющее слово 15/09/2004).

7:31 “Н.Назарбаев отметил, что государство будет предпринимать серьезные усилия для развития других языков, особенно русского и английского: — Возможно, надо даже увеличить количество часов преподавания этих языков. Нет ничего плохого в том, что наши дети вырастут полиязычными, — заключил он”.

(*Liter*, ‘Образованных посадят в калошу’, 13/10/2004).

7:32 “Необходимость в английском — это мировая тенденция, очевидная необходимость. А прекрасное владение русским — это наше богатство, которое потерять крайне неразумно. Мы говорим и ведем документацию на русском потому, что сегодня этот язык знают все казахстанцы. Поэтому именно русский язык объединяет нашу нацию, всех граждан нашей страны. Так сложилось исторически, и в этом никто не виноват. Нужно время, чтобы казахский язык начал исполнять такую же объединяющую роль, но торопить события не стоит, сказал Президент...”

Для нас будет великим преимуществом, если мы будем в совершенстве владеть казахским, русским и английским.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:33 “Это очень плохо... Незнание языка межнационального общения закрывает молодежи доступ к мировой культуре. Кроме того, одноязычие ограничивает возможности конкурировать на рынке труда. В нашей многонациональной стране незнание русского языка так же плохо, как и незнание казахского”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово... 25/03/2004).

7:34 “Необходимо расширять сферу употребления государственного языка, применяя его на почте, в общественном транспорте, сферах связи, торговли, здравоохранения.

К сожалению, многие мероприятия по развитию государственного языка превращаются в формальность. В большинстве организаций, предприятий документы оформляются на казахском и русском языках. Есть в их штатах переводчики, а кое-где даже целые отделы переводчиков. На бумаге все получается гладко, и проверяющим органам, как правило, не к чему бывает придаться. На деле документы на казахском языке возникают в результате перевода с русского текста. Приказы, распоряжения на предприятиях, в организациях не разрабатываются, не используются на практике, а существуют на уровне переводов, подшиваются в папки и по прошествии времени сдаются в архив”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, В начале было слово... 25/03/2004).

7:35 “С тех пор как был принят первый закон о языках, прошло более 15 лет. Срок достаточный, чтобы каждый интеллигентный человек проникся чувством ответственности за судьбу государственного языка...”

“Казахский, в прошлом занимавший второе место после русского, ныне откатился на третье место, так как одним из доминирующих языков на территории суверенного Казахстана стал английский”.

“Если эфир и экраны создают моноязычную атмосферу, то чиновничья рать тихо радуется, что их никто в ближайшее время не потревожит на предмет знания государственного языка. «Летучки», пятиминутки, планерки, собрания, заседания, брифинги, пресс-конференции, «круглые столы», заседания Мажилиса, Сената, переговоры, культурные тусовки проходят на русском языке. Лишь редкие юбилейные торжества напоминают нам, что мы все-таки казахи и добрая половина наших соотечественников живет не где-нибудь, а в Казахстане. И это то, что лежит на поверхности. Одним словом, русский язык на информационном пространстве, во всех сферах жизнедеятельности безраздельно властвует”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Где ты, казахская волна?, 13/12/2003)

7:36 “Проблема расширения сферы применения государственного языка все больше волнует общественность нашей страны. Причем в защиту казахского языка выступают не только жители коренной национальности, но и представители других народов, живущие бок о бок с казахами”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Импульс развитию языка, 20/03/2005).

7:37 “Этот вопрос не может никого оставить равнодушным. Во всех цивилизованных странах государственный язык имеет должный статус. Что касается наших граждан, то у них должна появиться серьезная потребность в изучении казахского языка. Например, при принятии на госслужбу было бы не лишним требование знания казахского. При продвижении по служебной лестнице надо принимать во внимание умение данного работника общаться на государственном языке и вести документацию”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Импульс развитию языка, 20/03/2005).

7:38 “Президент страны не раз подчеркивал, что у представителей других народов всегда останется право говорить на родных языках и быть понятыми”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Казахский язык – твой, мой, наш, 16/12/2003).

7:39 “Это еще одна особенность нашей Конституции: она дает «благоприятные условия для развития не только государственного языка, но и языков народов Казахстана в целом». В Атырауской области проживают представители более сорока национальностей... Ответы на заявления граждан даются на языке обращения. Местные исполнительные органы содействуют национальным диаспорам в изучении ими родного языка, культуры, обычаев, традиций. Ежегодно проводятся фестивали языков народов Казахстана, где каждый национально-культурный центр отмечает праздники своих народов и где можно слышать башкирскую, немецкую, украинскую, корейскую, чеченскую, грузинскую речь от носителей языка”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Сильны разнообразием своим, 02/08/2005).

7:40 “Основной целью, которую ставят перед собой члены Малой ассамблеи народов ЮОГУ, является всестороннее развитие национальной культуры, языков и традиций представителей народностей, обучающихся в университете. - Сохранение стабильности и межнационального согласия в стране - одна из важнейших задач, стоящих перед государством, - говорит Нуржан Альтаев. - Способствовать этому должно и казахстанское студенчество”.
(*Ekspress-K*, Национальность – студент, 23/07/03).

7:41 “люди, которые чтят язык и культуру другого народа, заслуживают большого уважения и такого же отношения к их языку и к себе”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:42 “[В] Казахстане создаются условия для гармоничного этнокультурного развития всех проживающих в нем народов... [И]з 7 989 общеобразовательных школ в 2 062 школах преподавание ведется на разных языках, в том числе как родные изучаются 15 языков. Кроме того, при национальных культурных центрах работает более 170 воскресных школ, в которых представители этнических общин имеют возможность изучать 23 родных языка”.
(*Ekspress-K*, Конкурс языкознателей, 24/09/2003)

7:43 “Скажем, национальная безопасность и внутривнутриполитическая стабильность в многонациональном и многоконфессиональном государстве останутся важными приоритетами, пока существует это государство. В распоряжении республики всегда должна быть платформа для объединения всего народа”.
(*Liter*, Наша программа – не догма, 12/10/2005).

7:44 “Народ проголосовал не только за президентскую партию, но и за стабильность, за межнациональное согласие, за экономическое процветание”.
(*Liter*, “Образованных” посадят в калошу, 13/10/2004).

7:45 “Главное в Казахстане сохранен мир, и все чувствуют себя равными и достойными гражданами страны. Родина казахов не только сохранена, но развивается и станет державой евразийского континента”.
(*Liter*, За державу не обидно, 30/09/2005).

7:46 “Мы преисполнены оптимизмом стабильности, мира, согласия и созидания: растут размеры пенсий, увеличены размеры зарплат. По темпам, объемам и качеству социально-экономических реформ, совершенствования политической системы и демократизации государства и общества Казахстан один из лидеров в СНГ. Республика широко признана в мире, и ее международный авторитет растет изо дня в день. Заложен прочный фундамент нашей независимой государственности. Крепнет и развивается духовное самосознание казахстанцев”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнущий дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:47 “Еще один важный приоритет – экономический рост, базирующийся на развитой экономике с высоким уровнем инвестиций. Этот приоритет не будет

меняться до 2030 года, разве что из года в год корректировке будут подвергаться направления для вложений. Сегодня Казахстан нуждается в инвестициях не в добывающую отрасль, как это было несколько лет назад, а в перерабатывающую”.

(*Liter*, Наша программа – не догма, 12/10/2005).

7:48 “Одной из приоритетных задач Казахстана по укреплению открытой экономики и ее модернизации является вступление во Всемирную торговую организацию. Переговорный процесс по вступлению в ВТО идет полным ходом”.

(*Liter*, Welcome, инвестиции!, 15/06/2005).

7:49 “Казахстан добился значительных успехов на пути интеграции в международную экономику... В ходе этой конференции будут обсуждаться возможности диверсификации экономики Казахстана, которая основана прежде всего на сырьевых отраслях”.

(*Liter*, Welcome, инвестиции! 15/06/2005).

7:50 “На вечернем приеме в алматинской резиденции он свободно обратился к гостям на языке международного общения, что само по себе символично – это своеобразное подтверждение стремления Казахстана к интеграции в мировое пространство”.

(*Liter*, Welcome, инвестиции! 15/06/2005).

7:51 “Прежде всего, они проходили на фоне общей либерализации политической системы. Она проводится системно, на основе комплексного решения задач общественного развития. При этом каждый новый этап политических реформ тесно увязывается с уровнем развития экономики, гражданского общества, политической и правовой культуры населения. Только так страна сможет успешно пройти сложный период, построить современное общество, стать органичной частью глобального мира, сказал Глава государства”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:52 “Характеризуя развитие образования в стране, Президент отметил, что Казахстан вышел на новый этап развития, когда становится возможным решение многих задач во всех областях жизни, в том числе в образовании и науке. Рост экономики страны требует не только финансовых инвестиций. В большей степени он обеспечивается человеческим фактором, интеллектуальными вложениями”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:53 “Говоря о задачах науки, необходимо четко уяснить, что Казахстан не сможет сохранить свой научный потенциал вне связи с национальной экономикой, а экономика не станет конкурентоспособной без опоры на науку. В современном мире произошло осознание того, что экономические успехи

государств определяются их системами образования, образованностью граждан”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:54 “Руководство Казахстана установило для себя приоритетную задачу – поднять образование на максимально высокий качественный уровень.

Необходима интеграция в мировую образовательную систему, что не может быть эффективно осуществлено без надлежащей перестройки существовавшей структуры уровней и квалификаций высшей школы”.

(*Liter*, Высшее преОбразование, 08/09/2005).

7:55 “- Мои золотые медали - признание возможностей нашей страны соответствовать самым высоким образовательным стандартам, - говорит этот талантливый паренек”.

(*Ekspress-K*, Умники и умницы, 31/10/2003).

7:56 “ - Нам нужно развивать науку, именно естественные и точные науки необходимы для продвижения нашего государства, - считает Нурсултан Назарбаев. - К 2015 году экономика нашей страны вырастет в три с половиной раза, и вы, талантливые ребята, будете в этом участвовать”.

(*Ekspress-K*, Умники и умницы, 31/10/2003).

7:57 “Развитие образования и науки — это политическая и общенациональная задача. Именно поэтому она не может осуществляться как ведомственный проект. В этой связи Президентом было дано поручение разработать новую государственную программу образования, положения которой широко обсуждались в казахстанском обществе.

Задачи поставлены серьезные, многое надо будет сделать быстро, слаженно и, главное, эффективно. Проведен подготовительный этап для реализации госпрограммы. В последние годы значительно увеличилось бюджетное финансирование образования и науки. Так, если в текущем году оно составляет сто девяносто два миллиарда, то в будущем году планируется его увеличить до двухсот пятидесяти миллиардов тенге”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:58 “...отечественная система образования оказалась неспособной адаптироваться к современным экономическим условиям. В сфере образования сложился блок системных проблем, которые Правительство в течение десяти лет пыталось решить, проводя модернизацию отдельных сегментов образовательной системы. Значительно повысилась самостоятельность учебных заведений всех уровней, расширились их права в выборе учебных программ, учебников и методов обучения... произошло становление новых видов учебных организаций, создан негосударственный сектор образования. Но все это пока не привело к достижению основной цели, отметил Глава государства.

Во-первых, принятые меры не обеспечили повышения качества образования.

...предпринятые шаги не привели к адаптации отечественной системы образования к международным образовательным стандартам”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:59 “Съезд закончился. Конечно, невозможно за короткое время обсудить абсолютно все проблемы, да такая цель и не преследовалась, главное, педагоги, ученые почувствовали, что государство ставит развитие образования и науки в число своих главных приоритетов”.
(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Обновленной стране – качественное образование, 13/10/2004).

7:60 “В пяти новых школах обучение будет вестись на государственном языке. Кстати, по словам вице-министра, существует тенденция увеличения численности учащихся в школах, где основным языком обучения - казахский. Так, 58 процентов первоклассников пойдут в казахские школы. В целом же по республике сохраняется языковой паритет: 1 млн 600 тысяч школьников учатся на государственном, и 1 млн 200 тысяч учатся на других национальных языках, в том числе и на русском.

Продолжается массовая информатизация учебных заведений: 65 процентов школ (из них 57 процентов - сельские) на сегодня телефонизированы, 44 процента школ уже подключены к Интернету. Компьютеризированы 31 профтехшкола и 25 колледжей. К спутниковым каналам и Интернету подключены 717 малокомплектных школ в далеких селах. Увы, несмотря на видимую активность работников образования, кампанию по информатизации все же нельзя считать завершенной. По признанию вице-министра, “сегодня на один компьютер приходится 54 учащихся”.
(*Ekspress-K*, Первый звонок, 26/08/2004).

7:61 “— Я собственными глазами видел эти перлы и псевдооткрытия, — сказал Н.Назарбаев и вслух процитировал несколько явных ляпов, чем вызвал аплодисменты педагогов:

...Учебник истории древнего Казахстана считает, что каждый шестиклассник должен знать устройство 29 курганов и помнить все их размеры. Зачем?! Особенно «восхищает» утверждение, что стрела сака имела убойную силу на расстоянии 800 метров. Не каждое современное оружие может достигать такой дальности. Читая учебники истории, искренне удивляешься, как авторы превращают необоснованные легенды в исторические факты. Такими фальсификациями не сделаешь школьников патриотами страны, которые будут гордиться своей историей... С историей не шутят!... Сложно научить по учебнику, в котором не только ущербен дидактический материал, но и масса фактических и стилистических ошибок.

Н. Назарбаев даже предложил учредить специальный «приз» авторам образовательных ...[Г]лаву государства огорчило, что до сих пор не написан ни один нормальный учебник новейшей истории Казахстана”.
(*Liter*, “Образованных” посадят в калошу, 13/10/2004).

7:62 “Во все времена и у всех народов обучение основам грамматики, риторики и поэтики начинается с приобщения к этике и философии национального языка, творческого наследия тех, кто имеет исторические заслуги в изучении, развитии и пропаганде данного языка. Стало быть, для русского языка такими безусловными авторитетами являются Ломоносов, Пушкин, Гоголь, Тургенев, Толстой, Чехов, Бунин и еще множество светил первой величины. Каково же было мое удивление, когда я увидел, что честь торжественной «презентации» русского языка в новом учебном году оказалась предоставлена... нет, не Пушкину и Бунину, и даже не Третьяковскому и Некрасову, а некоему А.Купчишину, автору новоиспеченной оды «великому и могучему» под названием «Язык согласия»”.

(*Liter*, О “безмольное” небо!, 25/01/2005).

7:63 “Не остались без внимания альтернативных кандидатов вопросы борьбы с коррупцией. В частности, Елеусизов считает эту борьбу важнейшей задачей всех ветвей и органов власти... Абылкасымов основным направлением своей антикоррупционной деятельности называет среду высших должностных лиц государства, областных и городских акимов, руководителей правоохранительных и силовых структур и национальных компаний... Что касается Байменова и Туякбая, то они, не затрагивая именно тему борьбы с коррупцией, в то же время в рамках тех или иных своих программных положений предлагают антикоррупционные меры преимущественно социально-экономического характера”.

(*Liter*, Что предлагает казахстанцам «великолепная четверка»?., 18/11/2005).

7:64 “...есть в Махамбете множество неповторимых, особенных свойств и черт, по которым поэта не спутать ни с кем другим, кто когда-либо жил или будет жить на земле. Эта его уникальность предопределена уходящей корнями в глубь древней культуры Степи самобытной природой его таланта, что дается человеку только с солнцем отчего края, только с твердью родной земли, только с водами материнских рек”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:65 “Листая этот сборник, не устаешь удивляться народной мудрости и степной прозорливости”.

(*Ekspress-K*, Золото степи, 30/11/2004).

7:67 “Многочисленные жырау, акыны, серэ, сказители, простые степняки из века в век воспевали былые подвиги своих предков. Все это не могло не отложиться в памяти поколений.... простые люди подготовили собственных героев из народа. Итак, предыдущая эпоха проделала колоссальную работу, для того чтобы каждый степняк проникся любовью к своим предкам и своим корням”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты герой нашего времени?, 28/10/2005).

7:68 “наверное, задали себе простые вопросы: «кто мы?», «откуда произошли?». Задумались бы над тем, сами ли они стали такими

раскованными, хорошо одетыми и красивыми или такую жизнь для них подготовили предыдущие поколения батыров, которые в годы «Актабан-шубырынды» (Великого бедствия) усыпали все Семиречье своими костями?» (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Кто ты, герой нашего времени? 28/10/2005).

7:69 “Книга показывает, с какой большой любовью относились передовые русские и европейские ученые к казахскому народу, его обрядам, обычаям, языку, как бережно и трепетно сохраняли для потомков бессмертные образцы устной литературы казахов. ...Год России в Казахстане отмечен невидимым присутствием благотворной роли первых ученых и путешественников, некогда ступивших на эту казахскую землю и полюбивших ее.” (*Ekspress-K*, Эти блестящие блестящие “Образцы...”, 01/10/2004).

7:70 “Бейшир Жаналтай – казах из Англии – готов покинуть благополучную Европу и переехать на родину предков”. (*Liter*, За державу не обидно, 30/09/2005).

7:71 “Не измерить ущерб, который во времена бездумной антинародной политики был нанесен нашей благословенной земле, нашим городам и селениям, некогда послужившим колыбелью самобытной степной цивилизации”. (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:72 “Нурсултан Назарбаев подчеркнул, что народ, который боролся за свободу, достоин уважения, а казахский народ всегда отстаивал свою свободу в борьбе”.

“Глава государства подчеркнул, что самое большое достояние нашего народа — его независимость, и об этом хорошо знали наши предки, во имя этого они боролись и умирали. Поэтому возводящиеся сегодня во всех уголках нашей республики памятники — это низкий поклон нашего поколения духу и памяти павших во имя и на пути к независимости. Особенно сейчас, когда живем в свободной стране, о которой так долго мечтали великие предки, мы не должны забывать, что самая благородная и заветная наша цель — это национальный дух”. (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:73 “Исатай и Махамбет мечтали о свободе и независимости своей страны, о единстве и солидарности, и сегодня мы, их потомки, преклоняемся перед духом великих борцов за свободу, и наш долг перед предками и перед детьми — всегда высоко держать знамя свободы...”

“Теперь мы уверенно можем сказать: да, сегодня сбылась великая мечта, которой жил и боролся наш великий предок Махамбет. Его народ избавился от невольничьих оков и, став полновластным хозяином своей судьбы”. (*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:74 “Как видим, эпоха Махамбета, XIX век — был веком больших и малых антиколониальных восстаний и схваток за национальные интересы, то и дело вспыхивавших в разных уголках Казахской степи...

Известные по эпохе колониализма открытый массовый протест и отказ покоряться властям не исчезли вместе с падением самодержавия, а имели место и в советской действительности”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:75 “У кого-то поднимется рука сжечь древние книги и манускрипты. Кто-то примет на душу грех разрушить хранилища библиотек. Но если жив, невредим и здравствует народ — создатель, бережный хранитель, законный обладатель и достойный наследник доставшегося от поколений пращуров многовекового багажа культурно-исторического накопилища нации, — то никто и никогда не сможет, никому не под силу ни разрушить, ни отнять у него эти его богатства”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:76 “Свобода и Равенство, Суверенитет и Независимость... Если судить с позиций этих четырех столпов нашего национального бытия, то голос Махамбета звучит не только от него самого, а от имени целой нации, не только от своего времени, а от имени столетий казахской истории. Мечта о свободе и независимости казахов не была убита вместе с Махамбетом, а как феникс из пепла восставала и звала на борьбу и в году 1916-м, и в году 1986-м”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

7:77 “«Отомстите за нас, громогласно истребовав Равенство!» — восклицали когда-то наши отцы, которым, в мрачные ночи Истории проведя жизнь в борьбе и заканчивая ее в горечи безысходности, так и не довелось дожить до зари Свободы. Словно услышав этот зов предков, Махамбет и появился на свет таким народным сыном, способным поднять непокорную голову и неробкий голос на палачей и мучителей своего народа и, отстаивая поруганную честь родной земли, вступить в заведомо неравную схватку... стрела Махамбета попала в цель, и наступил день, когда мечта его сбылась. А посему Махамбет не канул... вместе со своей эпохой, Махамбет — наш современник”.

(*Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, Немеркнувший дух мужества и свободы, 16/09/2003).

Chapter 8

8:1 “Мы, народ Казахстана, объединенный общей исторической судьбой, созидая государственность на исконной казахской земле, сознавая себя миролюбивым гражданским обществом, приверженным идеалам свободы, равенства и согласия, желая занять достойное место в мировом сообществе, осознавая свою высокую ответственность перед нынешним и будущими поколениями, исходя из своего суверенного права, принимаем настоящую Конституцию.”

8:7 “1. В Республике Казахстан государственным является казахский язык.
2. В государственных организациях и органах местного самоуправления наравне с казахским официально употребляется русский язык.

3. Государство заботится о создании условий для изучения и развития языков народа Казахстана.”

8:8 “Никто не может подвергаться какой-либо дискриминации по мотивам происхождения, социального, должностного и имущественного положения, пола, расы, национальности, языка, отношения к религии, убеждений, места жительства или по любым иным обстоятельствам.”

8:9 “Каждый имеет право на пользование родным языком и культурой, на свободный выбор языка общения, воспитания, обучения и творчества.”

8:10 “Признаются неконституционными любые действия, способные нарушить межнациональное согласие.”

8:11 “Настоящий Закон устанавливает правовые основы функционирования языков в Республике Казахстан, обязанности государства в создании условий для их изучения и развития, обеспечивает одинаково уважительное отношение ко всем, без исключения, употребляемым в Республике Казахстан языкам.”

8:12 “Государственный язык - язык государственного управления, законодательства, судопроизводства и делопроизводства, действующий во всех сферах общественных отношений на всей территории государства. Долгом каждого гражданина Республики Казахстан является овладение государственным языком, являющимся важнейшим фактором консолидации народа Казахстана.

Правительство, иные государственные, местные представительные и исполнительные органы обязаны:

всемерно развивать государственный язык в Республике Казахстан, укреплять его международный авторитет;

создавать все необходимые организационные, материально-технические условия для свободного и бесплатного овладения государственным языком всеми гражданами Республики Казахстан;

оказывать помощь казахской диаспоре в сохранении и развитии родного языка.”

8:13 “Каждый гражданин Республики Казахстан имеет право на пользование родным языком, на свободный выбор языка общения, воспитания, обучения и творчества.

Государство заботится о создании условий для изучения и развития языков народа Казахстана.

В местах компактного проживания национальных групп при проведении мероприятий могут быть использованы их языки.”

8:14 “В Республике Казахстан обеспечивается создание детских дошкольных организаций, функционирующих на государственном языке, а в местах компактного проживания национальных групп - и на их языках.

Язык обучения, воспитания в детских домах и приравненных к ним организациях определяется местными исполнительными органами с учетом

национального состава их контингента.

Республика Казахстан обеспечивает получение начального, основного среднего, общего среднего, технического и профессионального, послесреднего, высшего и послевузовского образования на государственном, русском, а при необходимости и возможности, и на других языках. В организациях образования государственный язык и русский язык являются обязательными учебными предметами и входят в перечень дисциплин, включаемых в документ об образовании.”

8:15 “Республика Казахстан обеспечивает функционирование государственного, других языков в печатных изданиях и средствах массовой информации.

В целях создания необходимой языковой среды и полноценного функционирования государственного языка объем передач по телерадиовещательным каналам, независимо от форм их собственности, на государственном языке по времени не должен быть менее суммарного объема передач на других языках.”

8:19 “Стратегия развития языков народов Казахстана определяет три основные цели: расширение и укрепление социально-коммуникативных функций государственного языка; сохранение общекультурных функций русского языка; развитие языков этнических групп.”

8:38 “В целях духовно-нравственного развития подрастающего поколения и привития ему интереса к государственному языку страны необходимо уделять особое внимание полному и качественному обеспечению детей дошкольного и школьного возраста художественной, познавательной литературой, методическими пособиями, периодическими изданиями на казахском языке.”

8:39 “Мы должны приложить все усилия для дальнейшего развития государственного языка как важнейшего фактора единения всех казахстанцев”

8:40 “Вопрос государственной важности, тесно связанный с патриотизмом – вопрос государственного языка. Государственный язык- это такой же символ как флаг, герб, гимн, с которых начинается Родина. И он призван объединять всех граждан страны”

8:50 “новое поколение казахстанцев должно быть по меньшей мере трехязычным, свободно владеть казахским, русским и английским языками”

8:51 “Создание и упорядочение отраслевых терминологических секций по гуманитарным, образовательным, экономическо-финансовым, техническим и другим направлениям при Государственной терминологической комиссии.”

8:53 “Право на получение образования на родном языке обеспечивается созданием при наличии возможности соответствующих организаций образования, классов, групп, а также условий их функционирования.”

8:57 “построение независимого, процветающего и политически стабильного Казахстана с присущим ему национальным единством, социальной справедливостью, экономическим благосостоянием всего населения.”

8:58 “Они будут... хорошо образованными, обладающими прекрасным здоровьем. Они будут готовы работать в условиях современной рыночной экономики, сохраняя при этом традиции своих предков. Они будут одинаково хорошо владеть казахским, русским и английским языками. Они будут патриотами своей мирной, процветающей, быстрорастущей страны, известной и уважаемой во всем мире.

... В 2030 году наши потомки будут жить в стране, которая не будет более находиться на заднем плане мировых событий. Их Казахстан, являясь центром Евразии, будет играть роль экономического и культурного связующего звена между тремя быстро растущими регионами-Китаем, Россией и мусульманским миром.

В стране будут жить представители многих национальностей, уверенных в равных возможностях для всех наций, но считающих себя прежде всего гражданами Казахстана.”

8:67 “мы должны развивать у всех граждан Казахстана чувство патриотизма и любви к своей стране. Старая, некогда прочная связь между народом и государством существенно ослабла, а новая - между личными и государственными интересами - еще не сформирована. К счастью, в массовом сознании уже зреет понимание общности и интересов людей и государства. Я не сомневаюсь, что по мере улучшения благосостояния народа, оно будет укрепляться. Это ускорит осознание таких, казалось бы, простых истин, что благосостояние каждого гражданина зависит от суверенитета и безопасности государства, в котором он живет.”

8:74 “Если различные группировки, независимо от того, что их объединяет - политическая идеология, религиозные, этнические или классовые интересы, - находятся в состоянии противодействия, это приведет к опасной ситуации, при которой народ будет отвлекаться от цели-достижения общего блага и реализации своих национальных интересов.”

8:75 “Не каждый сегодня сможет ответить на такой, казалось бы, простой вопрос: “Кто же мы такие - казахстанцы?”. Требуется время и определенное историческое развитие, чтобы решить проблему самоидентификации. ... Но уже сегодня есть ряд факторов, которые нас объединяют. Это наша земля в ее границах, наши родители, которые ее обустроивали, наша общая история, в которой мы совместно испытывали горечь неудач и делились радостью достижений. Это наши дети, которым на этой земле вместе жить и работать. Каждый из нас един в понимании долга перед своими родителями и в стремлении сделать жизнь наших детей лучше.”

8:79 “Шовинизм и национализм, однако, еще не полностью забыты. Попытки подогреть эти процессы не вызывают у большинства населения никакого интереса, скорее даже наоборот-только раздражают его. Резко пошла на убыль

русофобия, как естественный воспринимается процесс возрождения казахских традиций и языка. Общество, в отличие от предыдущих лет, гораздо более спокойно, конструктивно и открыто обсуждает этнические проблемы.”

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Казахстан 2030

Конституция Республика Казахстан 30 августа 1995 г

Об образовании от 27 июля 2007 года

О внесении дополнений в Указ Президента Республики Казахстан от 7 февраля 2001 года N 550 30 мая 2006 года

О Государственной программе функционирования и развития языков на 2001-2010 годы 7 февраля 2001 года

О Плане мероприятий на 2007-2008 годы по реализации Государственной программы функционирования и развития языков на 2001-2010 годы от 14 февраля 2007

О мерах по реализации поручений Президента Республики Казахстан по дальнейшему совершенствованию государственной языковой политики, данных Правительству на XII сессии Ассамблеи народов Казахстана от 28 октября 2006 года

О языках в Республике Казахстан 11 июля 1997 года